

A N  
ENQUIRY  
INTO THE  
Constitution, Discipline,  
Unity & Worship  
OF THE  
Primitive Church,

That Flourish'd within the First  
Three Hundred Years after  
CHRIST.

Faithfully Collected out of the Ex-  
tant Writings of those Ages

By an Impartial Hand.

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L O N D O N,

Printed for Jonathan Robinson at the Gol-  
den Lion, and John Wyat at the Rose  
in St. Pauls Church-yard, 1691.





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THE  
PREFACE  
TO THE  
READER.

**T**HE Design of the following  
Treatise is in general to represent the Constitution, Discipline, Unity and Worship of the Primitive Church, that flourish'd within the first Three Hundred Years after Christ; but more particularly and especially to describe their Opinions and Practices, with respect to those things, that are now unhappily controverted between those of these Kingdoms, who are commonly known by the Names of Church of England-men, Presbyterians, Independents

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## The Preface.

pendents and Anabaptists; for which reason it comes to pass, that to those Points, concerning which there is no difference amongst us, I have not spoken so largely as otherwise I might have done; and some other Customs of theirs I have not mentioned at all, because now neglected and disused by us.

What I have written as to this Subject, I have wholly collected out of the Genuine and unquestionably Authentick Writings of those Ages, that are now extant, making use of no other Writings whatsoever, except the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius, which was writ in the beginning of the Fourth Age, and relates only those Affairs that were transacted in the Three former, beyond the Period of which time this Enquiry doth not reach; but is wholly limited thereby, and confined thereunto. That which hath been thus collected, has been done, I hope with the greatest Impartiality and Fidelity, without any prepossession of Mind, or any fraudulent dealing whatsoever, which the Reader may  
the



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the sooner believe, and the easier be convinced of, since for the clearer Demonstration of my Faithfulness and Unprejudicedness herein, I have taken care to print in the Margent the Original Words of all the Passages that I have cited, at least of all that are necessary, together with the very Pages whence I fetch'd them, that so the Reader turning to the Pages mentioned in those Editions that I use, (which Editions I shall set down at the end of this Preface) and finding it according to my Quotations, may the more readily be perswaded, that throughout this whole Tract I have been every way honest and unbyass'd.

And as I have faithfully and impartially collected these Observations, so I have as modestly and unconcernedly represented them, avoiding all Words or Speeches that might seem to carry the least sharpness or Reflection in them, and have as nakedly expressed them, declining all affected or pompous Expressions, contenting my self with those,

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*Terms, that most naturally serve to render the Truth more perspicuous and evident, according to the Observation of*

*Clemens Alexan-*

*drinus, ' He that*

*would deliver the*

*Truth, ought not*

*studiously to af-*

*fect an Elegancy*

*of Expression, but*

*only to use such*

*Δεῖ γὰρ ἀληθείας  
κηρύττειν, ἢ ἐκ τῆς  
βέλους καὶ φρονήσεως τὴν  
φρόσιν συνδέειναι πε-  
ρᾶσαι ὃ ὀνομάζειν μί-  
νον ὡς δύναται, ὃ βέλε-  
ται. Stromat. lib. 2. p.  
263.*

*Words, whereby he may render what he means intelligible.*

*Whether all, or some, or none of the following Primitive Customs may be changed by the Civil Magistrate, or by a Convocational Assembly, I pretend not here to handle; my Design at present is only to search into matter of Fact, to find out what were the Usages of the Ancient Church within the first Three Hundred Years after Christ; for, as was said before, no lower do I intend to go, which after the most impartial and serious Enquiry I find to be according to the ensuing Treatise, in the pen-*

*ning*

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ning whereof I have avoided all Prolixity and Tediouſneſs, and for that end omitting to answer ſeveral Objections, that I know may be made againſt ſeveral things which I have here aſſerted, mine Intention being briefly and perſpicuouſly to prove what I judge to be the true Practice of the Primitive Church, as to thoſe Points now diſputed by us.

As for the Occaſion of my Publishing this Treatiſe, it cannot be imagined to proceed from a Spirit of Vanity or Ambition, ſince I ſo far conceal my Name, as that even my Bookſeller knows not who I am ; much leſs, I hope, will it be conſtrued by any, to proceed from a Spirit of Contention and Animofity, from an ill Deſign to foment and encrease our preſent Fews and Diviſions ; ſince I aſſure the whole World, our unnatural Quarrels do ſo much afflict and trouble me, as that I would ſacrifice not only this Book, but alſo all that I either am or have, if thereby I might be an happy Inſtrument to compoſe and heal them.



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*But amongst other Reasons, these two were the chiefest that swayed me hereunto, To inform others, and, To inform my self: To inform others what the Practices of the Primitive Apostolick Churches were, if any shall be inquisitive and desirous to know them; or, if I am mistaken, (as who is without his Errors?) to be better informed my self, which, I must needs confess, was that which I chiefly designed in the Publication hereof; wherefore without any Ostentation or challenging, but unfeignedly and sincerely to prevent mistakes in my younger Years, I humbly desire, (if the Request be not too bold) and shall heartily thank any Learned Person, that will be so kind as to inform me, if he knows me to have erred in any one, or more Particulars, which he may do, either Publickly, or if he thinks fit, Privately, by Letter to my Bookseller, who will convey it safely to my Hands; and if any one that finds me deceived in any one or more Points, will favour me so far, as to undertake such*

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a trouble, I should desire these few things of him, That he would be pleased, as I have done, to use only those Writings that were composed within my prescribed time, and if possible, the same Editions, and not only to form Objections against what I have written, but also to answer, or rather to give me another Sense of those Passages which I have cited, and then I promise, if my Mistakes are fairly shewn, I will not pertinaciously and obstinately defend them, but most willingly and thank'ully renounce them, since my Design is not to defend a Party, but to search out the Truth

I have but one thing more to add in this Preface, and that is, that when I first resolved on the printing of this Treatise, I designed to have published my Observations on the fourth general Head propounded in the Title Page to be enquired into, viz. The Worship of the Primitive Church, as well as now I have done those on the three former, but for some Reasons I have reserved  
this

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*this for a particular Tract by its self, which probably, though I do not absolutely promise it, may in a little time more be also published ; and that the rather, because in this Part I have made two or three References thereunto, which I thought good to acquaint the Reader with, that so if he cannot find some things that I have referred to in this Treatise, he may be assured they are to be met with in the ensuing one.*

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*The*



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*The Primitive Authors mentioned  
in this Treatise, together with  
those Editions that I have made  
use of, are as follow.*

*S. Ignatii Epistola Græco-Latin.  
Quarto, Edit. Isaci Vossii. Amste-  
lodam. 1646.*

*S. Barnabæ Epistola Catholica, Edit.  
ad Calcem S. Ignatii, Quarto. Amste-  
lodam. 1646.*

*S. Clementis Romani Epistola Græ-  
co-Latin. Quarto Edit. Patricii Junii  
Oxonii, 1633.*

*S. Irenæi Opera, Folio. Edit. Nic.  
Galassii. Genevæ, 1580.*

*S. Justin Martyris Opera Græco-  
Latin. Folio. Colonia, 1686.*

*Epistola Plinii Secundi Trajano Im-  
peratori*

## Authors Cited in this Treatise.

*peratori de Christianis in fronte Operum Justin. Martyr. Colon. 1686.*

*Clementis Alexandrini Opera, Folio Edit. Heinsii. Lugdun. Batav. 1616.*

*Tertulliani Opera, Folio. Edit. Paris. 1580.*

*Novatiani De Trinitate & De Cibis Judaicis inter Opera Tertulliani. Edit. Paris. 1580.*

*Cypriani Opera, Folio. Edit. Sim. Goulart. apud Johan. le Preux. 1593.*

*Vita Cypriani per Pontium ejus Diaconum. In fronte Oper. Cyprian. Edit. Goulart. 1593.*

*Fragmentum Victorini Petavionensis De Fabrica Mundi, pag. 103, 104. Histor. literar. Dr. S. Cave, Edit. Folio. Londini, 1688.*

*Minucii Felices Octavius Edit. ad Calcem Tertullian. Apolog. per Desiderium Heraldum. Quarto. Paris. 1613.*

*Origenis Commentaria omnia quæ Græce Reperiuntur, Edit. de Huetii. 2 Vol. Folio. Rothomagi. 1668.*

*Originis contra Celsum, Libri Octo, & ejusdem Philocalia Græco-Latin. Edit.*

## Authors Cited in this Treatise.

*Edit. Quarto, per Gulielm. Spencer.*  
*Cantabrigiæ, 1677.*

*Originis μετ' ευχης, seu, De Oratio-*  
*ne. Græco-Latin. Octavo. Oxonii.*  
*1685.*

As for those other Works of *Origen* which are extant only in Latin, I have made no use at all of those of *Ruffin's* Translation, except his Creed, since in them we know not which we read, whether *Origen* or *Ruffin*; and as for those which were translated by more faithful Hands, I have used the Editions of *Merlin* or *Erasmus*, without nominating the Page.

*Eusebii Pamphili Ecclesiastica Historia Græco-Latin. Folio. Edit. Henric. Vales. Paris. 1659.* I have read only the Seven first Books of *Eusebius's* History, because the three others go beyond my limited Time.

As for the Writings of *S. Gregory of Neocæsarea*, they are but few, and from thence I have taken nothing but his Creed, so that there is no need to mention any Edition of his Works



### Authors Cited in this Treatise.

Works. The same I may say also of the short Epistle of *Polycarp*, which I have cited but once, and therein have used the Version of *Dr. Cave*, extant in his *Apostolici*, pag. 127.

There are yet some other Fathers whose remaining Tracts I have read, as *Theophilus Antiochenus*, *Athenagoras*, &c. who are not cited in this Treatise, because I have found nothing in them pertinent to my Design.

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Books

Books Printed for, and Sold by Jonathan Robinson at the Golden Lion, and John Wyat at the Rose in St. Paul's Church-yard.

**A** Practical Exposition on the Ten Commandments, with other Sermons. By the Right Reverend Father in God *Ezekiel Hopkins*, late Lord Bishop of London Derry.

*The New State of England, under Their Majesties King William and Queen Mary: In three Parts.*

The First contains a particular Description of England, in its several Counties: Of every County-Town, with the Distance and Common Road to it from London: As also a List of the Market-Towns in every Shire, with the Days when their Markets are kept: The Honours or Noblemens Titles from Counties, Cities, Towns or Mannors, with the number of Men each City or Burrough sends to serve in Parliament.

The Second Treats of the Inhabitants of England, their Complexion, Temper, Genius, Language, &c. of the English Way of Living, their Commerce, Laws, Religion and Government: Of the present King and Queen: A Relation of their Accession to the Crown: Of their Court, Forces and Revenues. Of the Nobility, Gentry, &c.

The Third Treats of the Courts of Judicature, viz. The High Court of Parliament, Privy Council, Chancery, Kings-Bench, Common Pleas Exchequer, Dutchy of Lancaster, and all other Courts. With a Catalogue of the Chief Persons in the Realm, both in Church and State, Magistrates and Officers Civil and Military.

## ERRATA.

**P**Age 15. line 8, and l. 23. r. *Tertullian*. p. 29. l. 24. r. *bread*. p. 41. l. 23. r. *one*. p. 43. l. 18. r. *Synod*. p. 44. l. 19. r. *Anterus*. p. 55. l. 21. r. *competent*. p. 59. l. 17. r. *Office*. p. 71. l. 2. r. *someuch* p. 113. r. *Schifmatical*. p. 163. l. 23. r. *then*. p. 169. l. 8. r. *reinduction*. p. 192. l. 15 after *Bishop* r. *ep*. p. 196. l. 26. r. *preach't*. p. 206. l. 9. dele *if*. p. 207. l. 4. r. *Therapius*. p. 217. l. 21. or r. and p. 219. l. 17. r. *can*. p. 230. l. 16. r. *their*.

### ERRATA in the Margin.

Page 9 line 7. l. 20. *καὶ ἀνέβη*. p. 25. l. 10. l. *ἔχει, πρὸς μακάριον*. p. 25. l. 14. l. *καὶ ἐγενήθη*. p. 26. l. 10. l. *οὐρανοῦ*. p. 27. l. 6. l. *γενήθη*. p. 33. l. 3. l. *assistens*. p. 39. l. 4. l. *δοξαζοῦσιν*. p. 48. l. 10. l. *Fraternitate*. p. 69. l. 4. l. *ἐξανάσθω*. p. 115. l. 3. l. *ἐν ἑσπέρῃ*. p. 124. l. 29. l. *Genf*. p. 160. l. 11. l. *de*. p. 216. l. 12. dele. & *honore mutuo custodiant*. Apud Cyprian. Epist. 75. § 6. p. 237. p. 235. l. 1. l. *ἀόχοι*.

*The Reader is desired to excuse or correct any other Faults he may meet withal, the Author having not seen all the Sheets.*



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# An Enquiry into the Constitution, Discipline, Unity, and Worship of the Primitive Church.

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## C H A P. I.

§ 1. *The various Significations of the Word Church.* § 2. *A particular Church the Chief Subject of the ensuing Discourse : The constituent parts thereof, Two-fold, viz. Clergy and Laity.* § 3. *Each of these had their particular Functions, and both their joint Offices : Three things on which a great part of the following Discourse depends, proposed to be handled, viz. The Peculiar Acts of the Clergy, The Peculiar Acts of the Laity, and the Joint Acts of them both.* § 4. *The Peculiar Acts of the Clergy propounded to be discussed according to their several Orders : First, of the Bishops : A View of the World as it was in a state of Heathenism, at the first Preaching*

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## 2 The Constitution, Discipline, &c.

*ing of Christianity, necessary to be consider'd: Where the Apostles planted Churches, they appointed the first Convert to be Bishops thereof. § 5. But one Bishop in a Church: The Orthodoxy of the Faith proved from the Succession of the Bishops: The Titles and Relation of the Bishop to his Flock.*

§ 1. **T**HAT we may give the more clear and distinct Answer to this Important Query, it is necessary, that we first examin the Primitive Notion of the Word *Church*, upon the due apprehension of which depends the Right Understanding of a great Part of our following Discourse.

This word, *Church*, as in our modern acceptation, so also in the Writings of the Fathers, is equivocal, having different Significations according to the different Subjects to which it is applyed. I shall not here concern my self about the Derivation of the Word, or its Original Use amongst the Heathens, from whom it was translated into the Christian Church; but only take notice of its various Uses amongst the ancient Christians, which were many, as

I. It is very often to be understood of the *Church Universal*, that is, of all those, who throughout the face of the whole Earth professed Faith in Christ, and acknowledged him to be the Saviour of Mankind. This *Irenaeus* calls, <sup>1</sup> *The Church dispersed thro' the whole World to the ends of the Earth*, and <sup>2</sup> *The Church scattered in the whole World*. And *Origen* calls it, <sup>3</sup> *The Church of God under Heaven*. This is that which they called the *Catholick Church*, for *Catholick* signifies the same as *Universal*. Thus *Polycarp* when he was seized by his Murderers, prayed for <sup>4</sup> *The Catholic Church throughout the World*. And in this Sense *Dionysius Alexandrinus* calls the persecuting Emperor *Macrianus*, <sup>5</sup> *a Warriar against the Catholick Church of God*.

<sup>1</sup> Ἡ ἐκκλησία, καὶ ὅλης τῆς οἰκουμένης ἕως πρώτων τῆς γῆς διασπαρμένη. *Lib. 1. cap. 2. p. 34.*

<sup>2</sup> Ἡ ἐκκλησία ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ διασπαρμένη. *Lib. 1. cap. 3. p. 36.*

<sup>3</sup> Ἡ ἐπὶ τῷ ἑρανόῳ ἐκκλησία τοῦ Θεοῦ. *Apud Euseb. lib. 6. c. 25. p. 226.*

<sup>4</sup> Πάντης τῆς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας, *Apud Euseb. lib. 4. cap. 15. p. 131.*

<sup>5</sup> Τῆς καθολικῆς Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίας πλέμω. *Epist. ad Herm. apud Euseb. lib. 7. c. 10. p. 256.*



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II. The word *Church* is frequently to be understood of a *particular Church*, that is, of a Company of Believers, who at one time, in one and the same place, did associate themselves together, and concurred in the Participation of all the Institutions and Ordinances of Jesus Christ with their proper Pastours and Ministers. Thus

<sup>6</sup> Ea quæ est in quoque loco Ecclesia. *Lib. 2. c. 56. p. 158.*

*andrinus* writes, that

<sup>7</sup> Πόλλη συνεπιδήμουν ἡμῶν ἐκκλησία. *A. pud Euseb. lib. 7. c. 11. p. 259.*

*Church. Tertullian*

<sup>8</sup> Ubi tres, Ecclesia est. *Exhort. ad Castitat. p. 457.*

<sup>9</sup> Ecclesia Romana, *Cyprian. Epist. 31. § 3. p. 70.*

<sup>1</sup> Ἐκκλησία τῇ ἐσθι ἐν Σμύρνῃ. *Ignat. ad Smirn. p. 1.*

<sup>2</sup> Τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τὴν ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ. *Idem. Ibid. p. 8.*

<sup>3</sup> Ἐκκλησία ἡ Ἀλεξάνδρῃ, ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ. *Origen. contr. Gelsum, lib. 3. c. 129.*

*Irenæus* mentions

that Church <sup>6</sup> which is in any place. And

so *Dionysius Alex*

*andrinus* writes, that when he was banished

to *Cephro* in *Ly*

*bia*, <sup>7</sup> there came so

many Christians unto

him, that even

there he had

*Church. Tertullian* thinks that, <sup>8</sup> Three

were sufficient to make

a Church. In this

sense we must under

stand, <sup>9</sup> the Church

of Rome, <sup>1</sup> the Church

of Smyrna, <sup>2</sup> the

Church of Antioch

<sup>3</sup> the Church of A

thens, the Church of

Alexandria, or the

Church in any other

such

Such place whatsoever, that is, a Congregation of Christians assembling all together for Religious Exercises at *Rome*, *Antioch*, *Smirna*, *Athens*, *Alexandria*, or such like places.

III. The Word *Church* is sometimes used for the Place, where a particular Church or Congregation met for the Celebration of Divine Service. Thus *Paulus Samosatenus* the Heretical Bishop of *Antioch* ordered certain Women to stand <sup>4</sup> in the middle of the Church, and sing Psalms in his Praise. So *Clemens Alexandrinus* adviseth, that Men and Women should with all Modesty and Humility enter <sup>5</sup> into the Church. So the Clergy of the Church of *Rome* in their Letter to *Cyprian* concerning the Restitution of the Lapsed, give as their advice, <sup>6</sup> That they should only come to the Threshold of the Church-door, but not go over it. And in this Sense is the Word frequently to be

<sup>4</sup> Ἐν μέσῃ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ.  
*Epist. Synod. Antioch. apud Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 30. p. 281.*

<sup>5</sup> Ἐπὶ τῷ ἐκκλησίᾳ.  
*Pædag. lib. 3. cap. 11. p. 189.*

<sup>6</sup> Adeant ad limen Ecclesiæ. *Apud Cyprian. Epist. 31. § 7. p. 71.*

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*De præscript. advers. Hæret. p. 90. De Corona Militis, p. 336. And very often in his Book De Virginibus Velandis.*

<sup>8</sup> De Orat. § 20. p. 132.

understood in <sup>7</sup> *Tertullian*, <sup>8</sup> *Origen*, and others, to recite whose Testimonies at large would be both tedious and needless.

IV. I find the Word *Church* once used by *Cyprian* for a Collection of many particular Churches, who mentions in the

<sup>9</sup> In Provinciâ Africâ & Numidiâ Ecclesiam Domini, *Epist. 71. §. 4. p. 214.*

Singular Number, <sup>9</sup> *the Church of God in Africa and Numidia.* Else I do not

remember, that ever I met with it in this Sense, in any Writings either of this, or the rest of the Fathers; but whenever they would speak of the Christians in any Kingdom or Province, they always said in the Plural; *The Churches*, never in the Singular, *The Church* of such a Kingdom or Province. Thus *Dionysius Alexandrinus* doth not say *the*

<sup>1</sup> Αἱ τῆς Κιλικίας ἐκκλησίαι. *Apud Euseb. lib. 7. c. 5. p. 251.*

*Church*, <sup>1</sup> *but the Churches of Cilicia.*

<sup>2</sup> Αἱ ἐν Γερμανίαις ἐκκλησίαι ἐν ταῖς Ἰβηρίαις, ἐν Κελτοῖς, καὶ τὰς

And so *Irenæus* mentions, <sup>2</sup> *The Churches that were in Germany,*

<sup>3</sup> Ἀνατολὰς, ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, ἐν Λιβύῃ. *Lib. 1. c. 3. p. 36.*

*Spain,*



Spain, France, the East, Egypt and Lybia.

So also Tertullian

speaks of the<sup>3</sup> Churches of Asia and Phrygia, and <sup>4</sup> the Churches of Greece. And

so of every Country they always express

the Churches thereof in the Plural Number.

V. The Word *Church* frequently occurs for that, which we commonly call the Invisible Church, that is, for those, who by a Sound Repentance and a Lively Faith, are actually interested in the Lord Jesus Christ: According to this signification of the Word must we understand

Tertullian, when he

says, that Christ had

<sup>5</sup> espoused the Church,

and, that <sup>6</sup> there

was a Spiritual Mar-

riage between Christ

and the Church. And

that of Irenæus,

<sup>7</sup> That the Church

was fitted according

to the form of the

Son of God. And in

this Sense is the Word oftentimes used

<sup>3</sup> Ecclesiis Asiæ & Phrygiæ. *Adversus Praxeam*, p. 314.

<sup>4</sup> Per Græciam Ecclesiæ. *De Virgin. Veland.* p. 386.

<sup>5</sup> Christus sibi sponsabat ecclesiam. *Advers. Marcion. lib. 4.* p. 196.

<sup>6</sup> Spirituales nuptias Ecclesiæ & Christi. *Exhort. ad Castitat.* p. 455.

<sup>7</sup> Ecclesia ad figuram imaginis filii ejus coaptetur. *Lib. 4. c. 72.* p. 308.

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in others of the Fathers, as I might easily shew, if any one did doubt it.

VI. The Word *Church* is frequently to be interpreted of the Faith and Doctrine of the Church. In this Sense *Irenæus*

prays, *That the*<sup>8</sup> *He-*

<sup>8</sup> *Conversos ad ecclesiam Dei, Lib.3. c.46. p.229.* *reticks might be reclaimed from their Heresies, and be con-*

*verted to the Church of God ; and exhorts all sincere Christians not to follow He-*

*reticks, but to*<sup>9</sup> *fly*

<sup>9</sup> *Confugere ad Ecclesi-* *to the Church : Upon*  
*am. Lib.5. c.17. p.342.* *which account He-*  
*reticks are said to*

*have left the Church, as Tertullian told Marcion, that when he became an He-*

*retick, he departed*

<sup>1</sup> *Ab Ecclesiâ Christi recessisti. De carne Christi, p.13.* *from the Church of Christ, and their*

*Heresies are said to*

*be dissonant from the Church, as Origen writes, that the Opinion of the Transmi-*

<sup>2</sup> *Ἀλλότριον τῆς ἐκκλησίας. Comment. in Mat. Tom.13. p.304. Vol.1.* *gration of Souls was*<sup>2</sup> *alien from the*  
*Church.*

There are yet several other Significations of this Word, though not so usual as some of the forementioned ones, nor so pertinent to my Design, so that I might  
justly

justly pass them over, without so much as mentioning them: But lest any should be desirous to know them; I will just name them, and then proceed to what is more material.

Besides then those former Significations, the Word according to its Original Import is also used for any Congregation in general; sometimes it is applied to any particular Sect of Hereticks, as *Tertullian* calls the

*Marcionites* <sup>3</sup> *The Church of Marcion*:

<sup>3</sup> *Ecclesiam suam. Adversus Marcion. Lib. 5. p. 255.*

At other times it is attributed to the Orthodox in opposition to the Hereticks, as

by the same <sup>4</sup> *Tertullian*: Sometimes

<sup>4</sup> *Hæreses Ecclesiam lacerantes. De præscript. advers. Hæret. p. 69.*

it is appropriated to the Heathen Assemblies, as by

<sup>5</sup> *Origen*, at other times in Opposition to the Jews it is ascribed to the believing

<sup>5</sup> *Ἐκκλησίαις δειοδαίμωνων, καὶ ἀκολάστον, καὶ ἀδίκων. Contra Cels. lib. 3. p. 128.*

Gentiles, as by

<sup>6</sup> *Irenæus*: In some places it is taken for the Deputies of a

<sup>6</sup> *Ea quæ ex gentibus est Ecclesia, Lib. 4. c. 37. p. 271.*

Par-



7 Ἀσπάζομαι ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ  
Σμύρνης ἀμα ταῖς συμ-  
παρέταις με ἐκκλησί-  
αις τῆς Θεῆς. *Ad Phila-  
delph. p. 52.*

in Heaven, which we commonly call the Church Triumphant,

8 Ὁ οὐράνιον ἐκκλησίαν.  
*Padag. lib. 2. c. 1. p. 104.*

9 Ἐπίσκοποι καὶ Πρεσ-  
βύτεροι, καὶ Διάκονοι, καὶ  
αἱ ἐκκλησίαι τῆς Θεῆς.  
*Apud Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 30.  
p. 279.*

1 Ecclesia vero Christus.  
*Tertullian. de penitentia,  
p. 382.*

Particular Church, as in 7 *Ignatius*. In other places it signifies the Assembly of the Spirits of just Men made perfect And once signifying only 1 Christ as the Head of the faithful.

§ 2. But the usual and common Acceptation of the Word, and of which we must chiefly treat, is that of a Particular Church, that is, a Society of Christians, meeting together in one place under their proper Pastours, for the Performance of Religious Worship, and the exercising of Christian Discipline.

Now the first thing that naturally presents its self to our Consideration, is to enquire into the Constituent Parts of a Particular Church, or who made up and composed such a Church. In the general

ral, they were called

<sup>1</sup> Ἐκλεκτοὶ, the <sup>2</sup> Elect,  
<sup>3</sup> the Called and San-  
ctified by the Will of  
God. And in innu-  
merable places they  
are called Ἀδελφοὶ,

the Brethren, because

of their Brotherly Love and Affection;  
and Πιστοὶ, the Faithful, in opposition to  
the Pagan World, who had no Faith in  
the Lord Jesus Christ, nor in the Promises  
of the Gospel. But more particularly we  
may divide them into two Parts; into the  
People that composed the Body of the  
Church, and those Persons who were set  
apart for Religious and Ecclesiastical Em-  
ployments: Or to conform to our ordi-  
nary Dialect, into the Clergy and Laity,  
which is an early distinction, being men-  
tioned by <sup>4</sup> Clemens

Romanus, and after  
him by <sup>5</sup> Origen, and  
several others.

Ἰδεταί, Epist. 1. ad Cor. p. 53.  
Jerem. p. 113, 114. Vol. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Epist. Eccles. Smirn. ad  
Eccles. Philomil. apud  
Euseb. lib. 4. c. 15. p. 134.

<sup>3</sup> Κλητοῖς καὶ ἡγιασμέ-  
νοις ἐν θελήματι Θεοῦ.  
Clem. Roman. Epist. 1. ad  
Cor. p. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἰδιόθεν  
τόπον προσέτακται, ὁ  
λαϊκὸς ἀνδρὸς τοῖς  
λαϊκοῖς προστάγμασιν

<sup>5</sup> Homil. 11. in

§ 3. Each of these had their Particu-  
lar Offices, and both together had their  
joynt Employments, to all which I shall  
distinctly



## 12 The Constitution, Discipline, &c.

distinctly speak in the ensuing Tract, as they naturally resolve themselves into these Three Particulars :

- I. The Peculiar Acts of the Clergy.
- II. The Peculiar Acts of the Laity.
- III. The Joint Acts of them both.

By the Resolution of which three Questions, some Discovery will be made of the Constitution and Discipline of the Primitive Church, and of their Practice with respect to many Points unhappily controverted amongst us.

§ 4. I begin with the first of these, What were the Peculiar Acts of the Clergy? Now here must be consider'd the Functions of every particular Order and Degree of the Clergy, which we may say to be three, *viz.* Bishops, Priests and Deacons, whose Employments we shall severally handle; as also several other Points, which under those Heads shall offer themselves unto us. I shall begin first with the Bishop; but for the better understanding both of him and the rest, it will be necessary, first of all, to consider the condition of the whole World, as it was before the Preaching of the Gospel,



spel, in a state of Paganism and Dark-  
ness, having their Understandings cloud-  
ed with Ignorance and Error, alienated  
from God, and the true Worship of him,  
applauding their own brutish Inventions,  
and adoring as God whatever their cor-  
rupted Reason and silly Fancies proposed  
to them as Objects of Adoration and Ho-  
mage. Into this miserable state all Man-  
kind, except the *Jews*, had wilfully cast  
themselves; and had not Christ the Son  
of Righteousness enlightned them, they  
would have continued in that lost and  
blind condition to this very day: But  
our Saviour having on his Cross Tri-  
umphed over Principalities and Powers,  
and perfectly conquered the Devil, who  
before had rul'd effectually in the Hea-  
then World; and being ascended into  
Heaven, and sat down at the Right Hand  
of the Father, on the day of Pentecost  
he sent down the Holy Ghost on his Apo-  
stles and Disciples, who were then assem-  
bled at *Jerusalem*, enduing them thereby  
with the Gift of Tongues, and working  
Miracles, and both commissionating and  
fitting them for the Propagation of his  
Church and Kingdom, who having recei-  
ved this Power and Authority from on  
high, went forth Preaching the Gospel,  
First,

#### ¶ 4 The Constitution, Discipline, &c.

First, to the Jews, and then to the Gentiles, declaring those glad Tidings to all Kingdoms and Provinces ; so that as the

Apostle Paul said, *'Their Sound went into all the earth, and their words unto*

1 Rom. 10. 18.

*the ends of the world ;* every one taking a particular part of the World for his proper Province, to make known the joyful News of Life and Salvation through Christ therein. Thus St. Andrew principally preach'd the Gospel in Scythia, St. Bartholomew in India, St. Matthew in Parthia, St. John in the Lesser Asia, and all the rest of the Apostles had their particular Provinces allotted them, wherein they went forth preaching the Gospel ; and as they came to any City, Town or Village, they published to the Inhabitants thereof the blessed news of Life and Immortality through Jesus Christ, constituting the first Converts of every place through which they passed, Bishops and Deacons of those Churches which they

there gathered. So

<sup>2</sup> Καθίστατον τὰς ἀπαρχὰς αὐτῶν εἰς ἐπισκόπους καὶ διακόνους. Epist. 1. ad Corinth. p. 54.

saith Clemens Romanus, <sup>2</sup> The Apostles went forth preaching in City and Country,

appointing the First Fruits of their Ministry for

for Bishops and Deacons, generally leaving those Bishops and Deacons to govern and enlarge those particular Churches, over which they had placed them, whilst they themselves passed forwards, planted other Churches, and placed Governors over them. Thus saith

*Tertullian*,<sup>3</sup> *Clemens* was ordained Bishop of Rome by St. Peter, and Polycarp Bishop of Smirna by St. John.

<sup>3</sup> *Smirnæorum Ecclesia habens Polycarpum ab Johanne conlocatum, Romanorum Clementem à Petro ordinatum. De præscript. advers. Hæret. p. 80.*

§ 5. Whether in the Apostolick and Primitive days, there were more Bishops than one in a Church, at first sight seems difficult to resolve: That the Holy Scriptures and <sup>4</sup> *Clemens*

*Romanus* mention many in one Church, is certain: And on the other hand it is

<sup>4</sup> ὑποτασσόμενοι τοῖς ἡγεμένοις ὑμῶν. *Epist. I. ad Cor. p. 2.*

as certain, that *Ignatius*, *Tertullian*, *Cyprian*, and the following Fathers affirm, that there was and ought to be but one in a Church. These Contradictions may at the first view seem Inextricable; but I hope the following Account will reconcile all these seeming Difficulties, and  
withal



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withal afford us a fair and easie Conception of the difference between the Ancient Bishops and Presbyters.

I shall then lay down as sure, that there was but one Supreme Bishop in a place, that was the ὁ Ἐπίσκοπος, The Bishop, by way of Eminency and Propriety. The proper Pastor and Minister of his Parish, to whose Care and Trust the Souls of that Church or Parish, over which he presided, were principally and more immediately committed. So saith

Unus in Ecclesia ad tempus Sacerdos. Epist. 55. § 6. p. 138.

Cyprian, ' There is but one Bishop in a Church at a time.

And so Cornelius

Objects to Novatian, That he did not remember, ' that there

Ὁὐκ ἡπίστευτο ἓνα ἐπίσκοπον δεῖν εἶναι ἐν καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ. Ad Fabium. Antioch. apud Euseb. lib. 6. c. 43. p. 244.

ought to be but one Bishop in a Church.

And throughout the whole Epistles of Ignatius, and the

generality of Writers succeeding him, we find but one single Bishop in a Church, whose Quotations to which purpose would be fruitless to recite here, since the constant Practice of the Universal Church confirms it, and a great part of the following Discourse will clearly Illustrate it.

Only

Only it may not be impertinent to remark this by the way, that by the *διαδοχαί*, or Succession of Bishops, from those Bishops who were Ordained by the Apostles, the Orthodox were wont to prove the Succession of their Faith, and the Novelty of that of the

Hereticks, <sup>1</sup> *Let them demonstrate the Original of their Churches, as Tertullian challenges the Marcionites and other Hereticks; Let them turn over the Orders of their Bishops, and see, whether they have had a Succession of Bishops from any one who was Constituted by the Apostles or Apostolick men: Thus the truly Apostolick Churches have, as the Church of Smirna has Polycarp there placed by St. John, and the Church of Rome Clement, ordained by Peter; and other*

<sup>1</sup> Edant origines ecclesiarum suarum, evolvant ordinem Episcoporum suorum, ita per successiones ab initio decurrentem, ut primus ille episcopus aliquem ex Apostolis vel Apostolicis viris, qui tamen cum Apostolis perseveraverit, habuerit autorem & antecessorem. Hoc enim modo Ecclesie Apostolicæ census suos deferunt, sicut Smirnaeorum Ecclesia habens Polycarpum ab Johanne conlocatum refert, sicut Romanorum Clementem à Petro ordinatum proinde utique exhibent, quos ab Apostolis in Episcopatum constitutos, Apostolici seminis traduces habeant. *De præscript. advers. Heret. p. 78.*

C

Churches

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Churches can tell, who were ordained Bishops over them by the Apostles, and who have been their Successors to this very day. So also

<sup>1</sup> Eam traditionem quæ est ab Apostolis, quæ per Successiones Presbyterorum in ecclesiis custoditur, provocamus eos. *Lib. 3. c. 2. p. 170.*

*on of Bishops.*

says Irenæus, <sup>1</sup> We challenge the Heretics to that Tradition, which was handed down from the Apostles by the Successi-

<sup>2</sup> *Lib. 3. c. 3. p. 170, 171.*

And in the <sup>2</sup> next Chapter of the same Book, the said Father gives us a Catalogue of the Bishops of Rome till his days, by whom the true Faith was successively transmitted down from the Apostles; in which Catalogue we find but one Bishop at a time, and as he died, so another single Person succeeded him in the Charge of that Flock or Parish.

So that this Consideration evidences also, that there was but one Bishop strictly so called, in a Church at a time, who

<sup>3</sup> A pastore oves, & filios à parente separare. *Cyprian. Epist. 38. § 1. p. 90.*

was related to his Flock, <sup>3</sup> as a Pastor to his Sheep, and a Parent to his Children. The

Titles of this Supreme Church-Officer are most of them reck-



reckoned up in one place by *Cyprian*, which are, <sup>1</sup> *Bishop, Pastour, President, Governour, Superintendent and Priest.*

<sup>1</sup> Episcopus, Præpositus, Pastor, Gubernator, Antistes, Sacerdos. *Epist.* 69. § 5. p. 208.

And this is he, which in the Revelations is called <sup>2</sup> *the Angel of his Church*, as *Origen* thinks, which Appellations denote both his Authority and Office, his Power and Duty, of both which we shall somewhat treat, after we have discoursed of the Circuit and Extent of his Jurisdiction and Superintendency, which shall be the Contents of the following Chapter.

<sup>3</sup> Περὲς ὅτας τίνας ἦν ἐκκλησιῶν ἀγγέλους λέγεται ὡς καὶ πρὸς Ἰωάννη ἐν τῇ Ἀποκαλύψει. *De Oratione*, § 35. p. 34.

## C H A P. II.

§ 1. *As but one Bishop to a Church, so but one Church to a Bishop. The Bishop's Cure never call'd a Diocess, but usually a Parish, no larger than our Parishes.* § 2. *Demonstrated by several Arguments.* § 3. *A Survey of the extent of several Bishopricks, as they were in Ignatius's days, as of Smirna.* § 4. *Ephesus.* § 5. *Magnesia.* § 6. *Philadelphia.* And § 7. *Trallium.* § 8. *The Bigness of the Diocess of Antioch.* § 9. *Of Rome.* § 10. *Of Carthage.* § 11. *A Reflection on the Diocess of Alexandria.* § 12. *Bishops in Villages.* § 13. *All the Christians of a Diocess met together in one place every Sunday to serve God.*

§ 1. **H**AVING in the former Chapter shewn that there was but one Bishop to a Church, we shall in this evidence, that there was but one Church to a Bishop, which will appear from this single Consideration, viz. That the ancient Diocesses are never said to contain Churches, in the Plural, but only a Church, in

in the Singular. So they say, <sup>1</sup> the Church of the Corinthians, <sup>2</sup> the Church of Smirna, <sup>3</sup> the Church in Magnesia, <sup>4</sup> the Church in Philadelphia, <sup>5</sup> the Church in Antioch, and so of any other place whatsoever, the Church of, or in such a place.

<sup>1</sup> Τῇ Κορινθίων ἐκκλησίᾳ. Roman. Epist. 1. p. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Σμυρναῖς ἐκκλησία. Irenæus lib. 3. p. 171.

<sup>3</sup> Τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τὴν ἑσάν ἐν Μαγνησίᾳ. Ignat. Epist. 4. p. 30.

<sup>4</sup> Ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ ἑσῇ ἐν Φιλαδελφείᾳ. Idem Epist. 5. p. 38.

<sup>5</sup> Τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τὴν ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ. Idem ibidem. p. 45.

This was the common name whereby a Bishops Cure was denominated, the Bishop himself being usually called, The Bishop of this or that Church, as *Tertullian* saith, <sup>6</sup> That Polycarp was ordained Bishop of the Church of Smirna.

<sup>6</sup> Polycarpus in Smirnis ecclesia constitutus episcopus. Irenæus lib. 3. cap. 3. p. 171.

As for the Word *Diocess*, by which the Bishops Flock is now usually exprest, I do not remember that ever I found it used in this Sense by any of the Ancients: But there is another Word, still retained by us, by which they frequently denominated the Bishops Cure, and that is *Parish*: So in the Synodical Epistle of *Irenæus* to



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Pope *Victor*, the Bishopricks of *Asia* are twice called <sup>1</sup> *Parishes*.

<sup>1</sup> Τῶν παρρηκίων. *Apud Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 24. p. 193.*

<sup>2</sup> Τῆς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ. παρρηκίας, *lib. 2. c. 24. p. 66*

<sup>3</sup> Τῆς ἐν Ἐφέσῳ παρρηκίας. *Lib. 3. c. 4. p. 73.*

<sup>4</sup> Τῆς Κορινθίων παρρηκίας, *Lib. 3. c. 4. p. 74.*

<sup>5</sup> Τῆς Ἀθηνῶν παρρηκίας, *Lib. 4. c. 23. p. 144.*

<sup>6</sup> Τῆς κατὰ Καρχηδόνα παρρηκίας. *Lib. 7. cap. 3. p. 251.*

es. And in *Eusebius Ecclesiastical History* the Word is so applied in several hundred places. It is usual there to read of the Bishops of the <sup>2</sup> *Parish* of Alexandria, of the <sup>3</sup> *Parish* of Ephesus, of the <sup>4</sup> *Parish* of Corinth, of the *Parish* of <sup>5</sup> Athens, of the <sup>6</sup> *Parish* of Carthage; and so of the Bishops of the *Parishes* of several other Churches; by that

Term denoting the very same, that we now call a *Parish*, viz. a competent number of Christians dwelling near together, having one Bishop, Pastor or Minister set over them, with whom they all met at one time to Worship and serve God. This may be evinc'd from the intent of the Word it self, which signifies a Dwelling one by another, as Neighbours do; or an Habitation in one and the same place, as the Church of *Smirna* writ to the Church

Church <sup>1</sup> that Pa-  
rished in Philomeli-

<sup>1</sup> *Apud Euseb. lib. 4. c. 15.*  
*p. 129.*

um, τῇ παροικήσῃ ἐν  
φιλομηλίῳ. And the

Epistle of *Clemens Romanus* is to the  
Church of God

<sup>2</sup> *Parishing* at Co-  
rinth, παροικήσῃ Κό-

<sup>2</sup> *Epist. I. ad Cor. p. I.*

εινδον, that is, dwelling or living in *Philomi-  
lium* and *Corinth*; so that a Parish is the  
same with a Particular Church, or a sin-  
gle Congregation; which is yet more e-  
vident from a Passage in the Dissertations  
of *Apollonius* against *Alexander* a *Cata-  
phrygian* Heretick, wherein it is said,  
That because that Heretick had been a  
Robber, therefore

<sup>3</sup> that Parish to which  
he belonged would not  
receive him, that  
is, that particular  
Church or Congre-

<sup>3</sup> Ἡ ἰδίᾳ παροικήᾳ αὐ-  
τὸν ὁ θεὸς οὐκ ἐδέξατο.  
*Apud Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 18.*  
*p. 185.*

gation to which he appertained, exclu-  
ded him from Communion because of his  
Depredations and Robberies; so that a  
Parish and a Particular Church are Syno-  
nimous Terms, signifying one and the same  
thing; and consequently a Bishop having  
but one Parish under his Jurisdiction,  
could extend his Government no farther

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than one single Congregation ; because a single Congregation and a Parish were all one, of the same Bulk and Magnitude.

§ 2. But that the Bishops Diocess exceeded not the Bounds of a modern Parish, and was the same, as in Name, so also in Thing, will appear from these following Observations, as,

1. All the People of a Diocess did every Sunday meet all together in one place to Celebrate Divine Service. Thus saith

*Justin Martyr*, <sup>1</sup> On Sunday all Assemble together in one Place, where the Bishop preaches and prays; for as *Ignatius* writes, <sup>2</sup> Where the Bishop is, there the People must be; and, <sup>3</sup> there is a necessity that we do nothing without the Bishop; since <sup>4</sup> it is unlawful to do any thing without him; for <sup>5</sup> where the Pastour is, there the Sheep ought to follow; wherefore

<sup>1</sup> Πάντων ὅπῃ τὸ αὐτὸ συνέλδεις γίνεται. *Apol.*

<sup>2</sup> p. 98.

<sup>2</sup> Ὅτε ἂν θανῇ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος ἐκεῖ τὸ πλῆθος ἔστω. *Epist. ad Smirn.* p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Ἀναγκαῖον ἔν ἐσιν ἄνευ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου μηδὲν πράττειν υἱᾶς. *Epist. ad Tralles.* p. 48.

<sup>4</sup> Οὐκ ἔστιν ἡμεῖς τὸ ἐπισκόπου ἢ ἐπιβλεπεῖν, ἢ τι ἄλλω ποιεῖν. *Epist. ad Smirn.* p. 6.

<sup>5</sup> Ὅτε ὁ ποιμὴν ἐστίν, ἐκεῖ ὡς ἀκολουθεῖτε ἀκολουθεῖτε. *Epist. ad Philadelph.* p. 45.



6 as Christ did nothing without the Father, so do you nothing without the Bishop and Presbyters, but assemble into the same place, that you may have one Prayer, one Supplication, one Mind, and one Hope; 7 for if the Prayer of one or two have so great a force, how much more prevalent must that be, which is made by the Bishop and the whole Church? He then that doth not assemble together, is proud, and hath condemned himself:

For it is written, God resisteth the proud. Let us not therefore resist the Bishop, that we may be subject to God. So that these Passages clearly prove, That all the Members of the Bishops Church assembled together in one place to send up their common Prayers to the Throne of Grace, and to discharge those other Religious Duties which were incumbent on them, which convincingly evidences the Bishops Church

to

6<sup>a</sup> Ἀνδ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις μηδὲν ποιεῖτε, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ μίαν προσέχῃ, μίαν δέησιν, εἰς νῆς, μίαν ἔλπίς. Epist. ad Magnes. p. 33.

7<sup>a</sup> Εἰ γὰρ ἑνὶ καὶ δευτέρῳ προσέχῃ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔχει πῶς, μάλλον ἢ τε τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, καὶ πᾶσι ἐκκλησίαις; ὁ γὰρ ἑνὶ προσέχῃ τὸ αὐτὸ, ἔστω ἢ διὰ τῶν ἑαυτὸν δέχοντων, γὰρ γινώσκουσι τὸν Θεὸν ἀντιτάσσοντα, σπαρασσόμενον ἐν αὐτῷ ἀντιπαραστέλλοντα τὸν ἐπισκόπον, ἵνα ὅταν Θεὸς ἰσχυροποιήσῃ. Epist. ad Ephes. p. 20

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to be no bigger than our Parishes ; for if it had been bigger, it would have been impossible that the Members thereof, should have constantly assembled together in one place, as we see here they did.

2. The Bishop had but one Altar or Communion Table in his whole Diocess, at which his whole Flock received the Sa-

crament from him.

<sup>1</sup> Ἐν θυσιασθείῳ ὡς εἰς  
ὁπίσκοπον. Epist. ad  
Philad. p.41.

<sup>1</sup> There is but one Altar, says Ignatius, as there is but one Bishop.

At this Altar the Bishop administred the Sacrament to his whole Flock at one time. So writes

<sup>2</sup> Sacramenti veritatem  
fraternitate omni præ-  
sente celebramus. Epist.  
63. § 12. p.177.

Cyprian, <sup>2</sup> We Celebrate the Sacrament, the whole Brotherhood being present. And

<sup>3</sup> Τῇ τῇ ἡλίῃ λειτουργίᾳ  
ἡμερᾶ πάντων ἐπὶ τὸ  
αὐτὸ συνάλλομεν γίνε-  
ται, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἡ ὑψι-  
στης ἐκτὸς τῆς διακονίας  
ἐκείνων ἐκαστὸν γίνεται,  
καὶ τοῖς ἐκ παρῶν διὰ τῶν  
διακόνων πέμπεται. A-  
polog. 2. p.98.

thus it was in Justin Martyr's Days, <sup>3</sup> The Bishop's whole Diocess met together on Sunday, when the Bishop gave them the Eucharist ; and if any were absent, he sent it to

them by the Deacons. Certainly that Diocess could not be large, where all usually communicated

communicated at one time; and the Deacons carried about the Consecrated Eucharist to those that were absent; which would have been an endless and painful Task for the Deacons, had their Bishoprick contained more Christians in it, than one Congregation would have held. *Tertullian* writes, that in his Time and Country, <sup>1</sup> *the Christians received the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper from the hands of the Bishop alone.*

<sup>1</sup> Nec de aliorum manu quam de præsidentium sumimus. De corona militis, p.338.

Now in those days and places they communicated at least <sup>2</sup> three times a week,

<sup>2</sup> *Vid. de oratione, p.661.*

*viz. Wednesdays, Fridays, and Lord's Days,* which had been impossible to have been done, if the Bishop had had Inspection over more than one Congregation, as is obvious to every ones Reason; for the Bishop being Finite and Corporeal as well as others, could not be present in many places at once, but must be confined to one determinated fixed place, in which alone he could administer and dispense the Eucharist: And for this Reason it is, that

*Ignatius* exhorts the *Philadelphians* <sup>3</sup> to use the one Eucharist,

<sup>3</sup> Μία ἐσχαριστία κενῶται. *Epist. ad Philadelph. p.40.*

tha



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that is, not to leave the Bishop, and communicate elsewhere, but to partake of that single Eucharist which was administered by him: For as he proceeds to

<sup>1</sup> Μία ὁ σὰρξ τὸ κρεῖττον  
ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ἐν  
ποτήριον, ἐν θυτλασθέν, ὡς εἰς ὁπίσκοπον. Ibid.

say in the same place, *There is but one Body of our Lord Jesus Christ, one Cup, one Altar, and one Bishop.*

As there was but one Bishop in a Church, so there was but one Altar, a Bishop and an Altar being Correlates: So that to set up another Altar, was a Periphrasis of a Schismatick, or of one that causelessly separated from his lawful Bishop, and set up another, which was that they called *Schism*, as we shall shew in its proper place. Thus Cyprian describes a Schis-

matick as one, <sup>2</sup> *that contemns his Bishop, leaves the Ministers of God, and dares to set up another Altar:*

<sup>2</sup> Contemptis episcopis, & Dei Sacerdotibus derelictis constituere audet aliud altare. *De Unitat. Ecclesie*, § 15. p. 304.

And particularly he brands *Novatian* as such an one, because

<sup>3</sup> Profanum altare erigere. *Epist.* 67. § 2. p. 198.

<sup>3</sup> *he erected a profane Altar, that is, an Altar in opposition to the Altar of Cor-*

*nelius* his lawful Bishop: For, as he saith in

in another place,

<sup>1</sup> No man can regularly constitute a new Bishop, or erect a new Altar, besides the one Bishop, and the one Altar: For which

Reason he calls the Altar that is erected by Schismatics, against the One Altar of their lawful Bishops,

<sup>2</sup> A profane Altar: Which agrees with that of Ignatius, that <sup>3</sup> He that is within the Altar is pure, but he that does any thing without the Bishops, Priests and Deacons, is impure; and as he says in another place, <sup>4</sup> Whosoever is without the Altar, wants the Creed of God.

3. The other Sacrament of Baptism was generally administered by the Bishops alone within their Respective Diocesses.

So saith Tertullian,

<sup>5</sup> Before the Bishop

abolo & pompæ. De Corona Milit. p. 336.

<sup>1</sup> Aliud altare constitui, aut Sacerdotium novum fieri, præter unum altare, & unum sacerdotium, non potest. Epist. 40. § 4. p. 93.

<sup>2</sup> Altare profanum. Epist. 65. § 4. p. 193.

<sup>3</sup> Ὁ ἐν τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ ὄν, καθαρός ἐστίν, ὅτι ἐστίν, ὁ καὶ ἐν ὁποίῳ καὶ πρεσβυτέρῳ, καὶ διάκονῳ μετέωρον πύστις ἔστιν καὶ ἐν τῇ συνειδήσει. Epist. ad Tralles. p. 50.

<sup>4</sup> Ἐὰν μὴ τις ᾖ ἐν τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ, ὁρᾷται τὸ ἀγτὸ τῷ Θεῷ. Epist. ad Ephes. p. 20.

<sup>5</sup> Sub Antistitis contestamur nos renunciare di-

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we renounce the Devil and the World. For

<sup>1</sup> Non nisi in Ecclesia  
præpositis licere baptiza-  
re. *Epist.* 73. § 6. p. 220.

<sup>2</sup> Potestatem baptizandi  
Episcopis dedit. *Act. Con-  
cil. Carth. apud Cyprian.*  
p. 445.

as Cyprian says, <sup>1</sup> The  
Bishops ought only to  
Baptize: And to the  
same effect writes  
Fortunatus Bishop of  
Thucabari, that our  
Lord Jesus Christ  
gave unto the Bishop  
the power of Bapti-

zing. So that the Bishops did ordinarily  
baptize all the Persons that were bapti-  
zed in their Diocesses; and if so, it is not  
probable, I may say possible, that their  
Diocesses were extended beyond the bulk  
of single Congregations.

4. The Churches Charity was Deposi-  
ted with the Bishop, who, as *Justin Mar-*

<sup>3</sup> Αὐτὸς ὁπικρεῖ ὁρθα-  
νοῖς τε καὶ χήραις, καὶ  
τοῖς διὰ νόσον ἢ δι' ἄλ-  
λων αἰτίαν ληπομένοισι,  
καὶ τοῖς ἐν δεσμοῖς ἔσι,  
καὶ τοῖς παρεπιδήμοις ἔ-  
σι ξένοισι, καὶ ἁπλῶς τοῖς  
ἐν χρείᾳ ἔσι κηδεμὼν  
γίνεται. *Apolog.* 2. p. 99.

tyr reports, <sup>3</sup> was the  
common Curator and  
Overseer of all the  
Orphans, Widows, Dis-  
seased, Strangers, Im-  
prisoned, and, in a  
word, of all those that  
were needy and indi-

gent. To this charitable Office Ignatius

<sup>4</sup> *Epist. ad Polycarp.* p. 12.

adviseeth, <sup>4</sup> Polycar-  
pus; but of that ad-  
vice more shall be  
spoken



spoken in another place; only let us here observe, That that Diocess could not be very large, where the Bishop personally relieved and succoured all the Poor and Indigent therein.

5. All the People of a Diocess were present at Church Censures, as *Origen* describes an Offender,

as appearing <sup>1</sup> before the whole Church. So

<sup>1</sup> Ἐπὶ πάσης τῆς ἐκκλησίας. *Comment. in Matth. Tom. 13. p. 335. Vol. 1.*

*Clemens Romanus* calls the Censures of the Church <sup>2</sup> the things commanded by the multitude. And so

<sup>2</sup> τὰ προστάγματα ὑπὸ τῆς πλήθους. *Epist. 1. ad Cor. p. 69.*

the two offending Subdeacons and Acolyth at *Carthage* were to be tried <sup>3</sup> before the whole people.

<sup>3</sup> Plebe universâ. *Cyprian. Epist. 28. § 2. p. 64.*

6. No Offenders were restored again to the Churches Peace, without the knowledge and consent of the whole Diocess: So *Cyprian* writes, that before they were re-admitted to Communion, they were to <sup>4</sup> plead their Cause

<sup>4</sup> Acturi causam apud plebem universam. *Epist. 10. § 4. p. 30.*

before all the people. And it was ordained by an *African* Synod, that except

in

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in danger of Death, or an instantaneous Persecution, none should be received into

the Churches Peace,

<sup>1</sup> Sine petitu & conscientia plebis. *Apud Cyprian. Epist. 59. § 1. p. 164.*

<sup>1</sup> without the knowledge and consent of the People.

7. When the Bishop of a Church was dead, all the People of that Church met together in one Place to chuse a new Bishop. So *Sabinus* was elected Bishop of

*Emerita*, <sup>2</sup> by the Suf-

<sup>2</sup> De universae fraternitatis suffragio. *Apud Cyprian. Epist. 68. § 6. p. 202.*

frage of all the Bro-

therhood; which was

also the custom

throughout all *Afri-*

<sup>3</sup> *Apud* 1 os quoque & fere per provincias universas teneretur, ut ad eam plebem cui praepositus ordinatur, episcopi ejusdem Provinciae proximi quique conveniant, & episcopus deligatur plebe praesente. *Ibidem.*

*ca*, <sup>3</sup> for the Bishop to

be chosen in the Pre-

sence of the People.

And so *Fabianus* was

chosen to be Bishop

of *Rome*, <sup>4</sup> by all the

Brethren who were

met together in one

place for that very

end.

<sup>4</sup> Τῶν γὰρ ἐκείνων ἐκκλησίαν γενεσθῆναι ἐβόηεν ὅτι τῷ ἐκκλησιαστικῷ συγκεκοῖνῳ. *Apud Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 28. p. 229.*

8. At the Ordinations of the Clergy the whole Body of the People were present,

sent. So an *African Synod* held *Anno*

258. determined,

<sup>1</sup> That the Ordination of Ministers ought to be done with the knowledge, and in the Presence of the People, that the People being present, either the Crimes of the wicked may be detected, or the Merits of the good declared; and so the

Ordination may be just and Lawful, being approved by the Suffrage and Judgment of all.

And Bishop Cyprian writes from his Exile to all the People of his Diocess, that

it had been his constant Practice in all Ordinations, to consult their Opinions, and by their common Counsels to weigh the manners and merits of every one: Therein imitating the Example of the Apostles and Apostolick Men, who Ordained none, but with <sup>3</sup> the Approbation of the whole Church.

<sup>1</sup> Ordinationes Sacerdotes non nisi sub populi assistentes Conscientiâ fieri oportere, ut plebe præsentē, vel detegantur malorum crimina, vel bonorum merita prædicentur, & sit Ordinatio justa & legitima, quæ omnium Suffragio & Judicio fuerit examinata. *Apud Cyprian. Epist.* 68. § 4. p. 201.

<sup>2</sup> In Ordinationibus Clericis, Fratres charissimi, solemus vos ante consultare, & mores, ac merita singulorum communi concilio ponderare. *Ad Plebem Universam Epist.* 33. p. 76.

<sup>3</sup> Συνευσδοκησάσης τῆς ἐκκλησίας πᾶσης. *Clemens Romanus Epist.* 1. ad Cor. p. 57.



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9. Publick Letters from one Church to another were read before the whole Diocess. Thus *Cornelius* Bishop of Rome whatever Letters he received from Foreign

reign Churches,

<sup>1</sup> Sanctissimæ atque amplissimæ plebi legere. *Cyprian. Epist. 55. § 21. p. 144.*

always <sup>1</sup> read them to his most holy and numerous people. And

without doubt when

*Firmilian* writ <sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Τῇ παρρησίᾳ πάση. *Epist. Synod. Antioch. apud Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 30. p. 279.*

all the Parish of Antioch, they could assemble together

to read his Letters

and return an Answer to it; since we find that in those days one whole Church

writ to another

whole Church, as

the Church of Rome

writ to the Church of

Corinth. And *Cy-*

*prian* <sup>4</sup> and his whole

Flock sent gratulatory

Letters to *Pop-*

*Lucius* upon his re-

<sup>3</sup> Ἡ ἐκκλησία τῆς Θεῆς παρρησίᾳ Πάσης, τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῆς Θεῆς παρρησίᾳ Κόρινθον. *Clem. Rom. Epist. 1. p. 1.*

<sup>4</sup> Fraternitas omnis. *Cyprian. Epist. 58. § 2. p. 163.*

turn from Exile.

Lastly, The whole Diocess of the Bishop did meet all together to manage Church-Affairs. Thus when the Schism of *Felicissimus* in the Bishoprick of Carthage

that

thage was to be de-  
bated, <sup>1</sup> It was to  
be done according to  
the will of the People,  
and by the consent of  
the Laity. And when

there were some hot Disputes about the  
Restitution of the Lapsed, the said Cy-

prian promised his

whole Diocefs, <sup>2</sup> that

all those things should

be examined before

them, and be judged

by them. And so al-

so, when they were to send a Messenger

to any Foreign Church, all the People

could meet together to chuse that Mes-

senger, as they could

in the <sup>3</sup> Church of

Philadelphia.

Now put all these Observations toge-

ther, and duly consider, whether they

do not prove the Primitive Parishes to

be no larger than our modern ones are,

that is, that they had no more Believers

or Christians in them, than there are now

in ours: I do not say, that the Ancient

Bishopricks had no larger Territories, or

no greater space of Ground, than our

Parishes have. On the contrary, it is

very

<sup>1</sup> Secundum arbitrium  
quoque vestrum, ea quæ  
agenda sunt disponere  
pariter & limare poterim-  
us. *Ad Plebem Epist.*  
40. § 7. p. 94.

<sup>2</sup> Tunc examinabuntur  
singula presentibus &  
judicantibus vobis. *Ad  
Plebem Epist.* 12. § 1. p.  
37.

<sup>3</sup> Χειρὶς Ἰουῆσαι Διάκονον.  
*Ignat. Epist. ad Philad.*  
p. 45.

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very probable that many of them had much more ; since in those early days of Christianity, in many places the Faithful might be so few, as that for twenty or thirty Miles round, they might associate together under one Bishop, and make up but one Church, and that a small one too : But this I say, that how large soever their Local Extent was, their Members made but one single Congregation and had no more Christians in it, than our Parishes now have ; for that Diocese cannot possibly be more than one single Congregation, where all the People met together at one time, Prayed together, Received the Sacrament together, assisted at Church-Censures together, and dispatched Church-Affairs together ; and yet the Members of the Primitive Diocesses did all this together, as the preceding Observations evidently declare ; so that I might stop here, and add no farther Proofs to that which hath been already so clearly proved.

§ 3. But yet that we may more clearly illustrate this Point, we shall demonstrate it by another method, *viz.* By shewing the real Bulk and Size of those Bishopricks, concerning whom we have any Notices



Notices remaining on ancient Records ; and manifest, that the very largest of them were no greater than our particular Congregations are. And for the Proof of this, we shall quote the Writings of *St. Ignatius*, in whose genuine Epistles there is such an account of the Bishopricks of *Smirna*, *Ephesus*, *Magnesia*, *Philadelphia*, and *Trallium*, as manifestly evidences them to be but so many single Congregations.

As for the Diocess of *Smirna*, its extent could not be very large, since <sup>1</sup> nothing of *Church-Affairs* was done there without the Bishop ; he baptized and administered the *Eucharist*, and none else could do it within his Cure without his permission ; wherever he was, his whole Flock followed him ; which they might without any Inconveniency do, since they <sup>2</sup> frequently assembled together ; as *Ignatius* advised

<sup>1</sup> Μηδείς χωρίς τῶ ἐπισκόπου ἢ πρεσβυτέρου ἢ ἀναγνώστην εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἐκείνην βεβαία διαμαρτυρία ἡγεῖσθαι ἢ ὑπὸ ἑτέρου ἐπισκόπου ἔσθαι ἢ ὧν αὐτὸς ἐπιτρέψῃ ὅπως αὐτὸς φανήῃ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος. Ἐκεῖ τὸ πλεῖστον ἔστω ἢ ἐξ ὧν ἐστὶν χωρίς τῶ ἐπισκόπου ἢ τε βαπτίζειν, ἢ τε ἀγάπην ποιεῖν, ἀλλ' ὁ αὐτὸς ἐκεῖ δοκιμάσῃ. *Epist. ad Smirn.* p. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Πυκνότερον συναγαγὰι μνέσθωσαν. *Epist. ad Polycarp.* p. 13.

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<sup>1</sup> Πρεπει συμβέλιον ἀγα-  
γῆν χειροτονῆσαι πνὰ,  
&c. *Epist. ad Polycarp.*  
p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Ἐξ ὀνόματ' πάντας  
ζῶντες. *Ibidem.* p. 13.

<sup>3</sup> Δέλας καὶ δέλας μὴ  
ὑπογράφει. *Ibidem.* p. 13.

<sup>4</sup> Χῆραι μὴ ἀμελείδω-  
σαν. *Ibidem.* p. 12.

<sup>5</sup> Μηδὲν ἀνὰ γνώμης  
σε γνέσω. *Ibidem,* p.  
12.

<sup>6</sup> Πρέπει ὃ τοῖς γαμῖσι  
καὶ τῇ γαμεῦσαις καὶ  
γνώμης τὸ ὁπισκόπε πῶ  
ἐνώσει ποιέειν. *Ibidem.*  
p. 13.

Polycarp the Bishop  
of this Church, 'To  
convene his Diocess to  
chuse a faithful honest  
Man to send a Mes-  
senger into Syria: So  
that the Bishop of  
this Church <sup>2</sup> could  
know his whole Flock  
personally by their  
Names, carrying  
himself respectfully  
and charitably to  
all <sup>3</sup> with all meekness  
and humility towards  
Serving-men and Ser-  
ving-maids, and cha-  
ritably, <sup>4</sup> taking care  
of the Widows within  
his Diocess, permit-  
ting <sup>5</sup> nothing to be

done there without his Privy. Infomuch <sup>6</sup> that  
none were married without his previous ad-  
vice and consent. Now, how all these  
things could be done, how all this Bish-  
opruck could meet together in one place,  
how the Bishop could personally know  
all the Members thereof by their respec-  
tive Names, even the meanest Serving-  
maids therein, and permit none to be  
married

married without his Knowledge and Advice, without reducing this Diocess to a single Parish, I know not.

§ 4. As for the Diocess of *Ephesus*, there was but one Altar or Communion Table in its whole Territory, at which they all communicated together; whence they are said, <sup>1</sup> To

break the one Bread;

and <sup>2</sup> he that was

without or separated

from that Altar, is

said, to want the bread

of God. The Members also of this

Church could all meet together in one

place, to send up their joynt Prayers to

God in Christ: And therefore *Ignatius*

condemns all those

of that Diocess <sup>3</sup> who

did not assemble toge-

ther in that one place,

with the rest of the

Members thereof, to

send up their Prayers to God, as proud, self-

conceited, and justly condemnable; because

thereby they deprived themselves of that

unconceivable Benefit, that would accrew

unto them by joyning in the Prayers of

<sup>1</sup> Ἐνα ἄρτον κλῶντες.

*Epist. ad Ephes. p. 20, 29.*

<sup>2</sup> Ἐὰν μή τις ἢ ἐν τῷ τῷ

δυσιασθείη, ὥστε ῥίται τῷ

ἄρτῳ τῷ Θεῷ. *Ibid. p. 20.*

<sup>3</sup> Ὁ ἐν μὴ ἐρχόμενος

πρὸς τὸ αὐτὸ, ὅτι ἡδὴ

ὑψήσανται, καὶ ἑαυτὸν

δίεκεινεν. *Ibidem, p. 20.*



<sup>1</sup> Εἰ γὰρ ἐν ᾧ καὶ δευτέ-  
 ρα προσῄχῃ τοσαύτῳ  
 ἰσχύϊ ἔχει, πότῳ μάλ-  
 λον ἢ τε τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ  
 πάσης ἐκκλησίας. Epist.  
 ad Ephes. p. 20.

the whole Church.

<sup>1</sup> For if the Prayer  
 of one or two hath so  
 great a force with  
 God, how much more  
 prevalent must the  
 Prayer of the Bishop

and the whole Church be? So that if to  
 communicate together, and to pray to-  
 gether, be the Marks of a Particular  
 Church, then this Bishoprick was one.

§ 5. As for the Church of *Magnesia*,

<sup>2</sup> Εἰς ναὸν δεῦ. Epist. ad  
 Magnes. p. 34.

<sup>3</sup> Ἐν συσιστήριον. Ibid.  
 p. 34.

<sup>4</sup> Ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό μὲν προσ-  
 σῄχῃ. Ibidem p. 33.

<sup>5</sup> Οὐκ ἀσυνείδητοι διὰ  
 τὸ μὴ βεβαίως κατ' ἐν-  
 τολήν συναθροίσασθαι.  
 Ibidem. p. 32.

having but <sup>2</sup>one Church,  
 and <sup>3</sup>one Altar, <sup>4</sup>joyn-  
 ing all together in one  
 Prayer, because <sup>5</sup>to  
 have congregated else-  
 where would have been  
 against Conscience and  
 Precept. Now how  
 large such a Church  
 is, where there is but

one Meeting Place, and one Altar,  
 where all communicate and pray toge-  
 ther, is no hard matter to determin.

§ 6. Touching the Bishoprick of *Phi-  
 ladelphia*, its Extent may be guessed at by  
 this,

this, that the Members thereof <sup>1</sup> could do nothing without the Bishop, <sup>2</sup> who being their Shepherd, wherever he was, they were to follow him like Sheep, <sup>3</sup> receiving the Sacrament all together from him, <sup>4</sup> at that one Altar belonging to their Diocess; which they might well enough do, since their Multitudes were not so great, but that on other occasions they could meet all together, as <sup>5</sup> to chuse a Messenger to send to the Church at Antioch in Syria.

<sup>1</sup> Όσοι γὰρ θεῶ ἐσὶν μὲν τῶ ἐπισκόπῳ ἐσὶν. *Epist. ad Philadelph. p. 40.*

<sup>2</sup> Όπερ ὁ ποιμὴν ἐστὶν ἐκεῖ ὡς ποιμένα ἀκολουθεῖτε. *Ibidem. p. 40.*

<sup>3</sup> Μία ἑυχαισὶα χρῆσθαι ἐν ποτήριον. *Ibidem. p. 40.*

<sup>4</sup> Ἐν θυσιαστηρίῳ. *Ibid. p. 41.*

<sup>5</sup> Χειροτονῆσαι διάκονον εἰς τὸ πρεσβεῦσαι ἐκεῖ θεῶ πρεσβεῖαν. *Ibidem. p. 45.*

§ 7. As for the Diocess of Trallium, that could be no larger than the former ones, since it had but one Altar in it, which was correlate to its own Bishop; so that to separate from the Altar, was the same, as to separate from the Bishop; whence Ignatius says,

that <sup>6</sup> He that is within the Altar is <sup>6</sup> Ο ἐν τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ ὡν καθερὸς ἐστὶν, τὸ ἐστὶν, ὁ καὶ ἐπισκόπος καὶ πρεσβυτεῖς, ὑποδιακόνες πρεσβυτέρων ἐστὶν καὶ καθερὸς ἐστὶν τῇ συνεκλήσει. *Epist. ad Tralles. p. 50.*

pure,

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pure, that is, *He that doth any thing without the Bishop, Priests and Deacons is impure.*

Now let any impartial Man judge, whether all these Descriptions of those Ancient Diocesses do not forcibly constrain us to reduce them to the Rate of our modern Parishes. And if these were no greater, especially *Ephesus*, at which place *St. Paul* preached three years, we have no reason to imagin, that other Bishopricks where the Apostles never were, or at least never preach'd so long, surmounted their Bulk and Largeness.

How long it was before these Diocesses swell'd into several Congregations, is not my business to determin, since it happened not within my prescribed time; except in the Church of *Alexandria*; the reason and manner whereof shall be shewn in a few Leafs more, after that I have more fully evidenced this Point, by demonstrating, that the greatest Bishopricks in the World, even in the Third Century; were no more than so many single Congregations: And if this can be proved, it is the solideest Demonstration that can be given: For the larger a Church was, and the more time it had to settle and increase its self, the greater Reason



Reason have we to expect, that it should exceed all others in Numbers and Diffusiveness.

Now the four greatest Diocesses, that in those days were in the World, are *Antioch, Rome, Carthage, Alexandria*. The three former of which, during the whole three hundred years after Christ, never branched themselves into several particular Congregations, though the latter did, as shall be hereafter shewn.

§ 8. As for the Diocess of *Antioch*, its Members were not so many, but that 265 years after Christ, they were able to meet all in one place, of which we have this memorable Instance, that when *Paulus Samosatenus* the Heretical Bishop thereof, was deprived by a Senat held in that place, and *Domnus* substituted in his room, <sup>1</sup> he refused to

resign the Churches House, till the Emperor *Aurelian* forced him to resign

<sup>2</sup> that House : So that

for above 250 years after Christ, the whole Bishoprick of *Antioch* had but one Church to serve God in.

<sup>1</sup> Μηδ' αὖτως ἐκστῆναι τῇ τῆς ἐκκλησίας οἰκῇ. *Apud Euseb. Lib. 7. c. 30. p. 282.*

<sup>2</sup> Τὸν οἶκον. *Ibidem.*

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§ 9. How large the Diocess of Rome was, may be conjectured by that ;

1. All the People thereof could meet together to perform Divine Service, as appears by that History of a certain Confessor called *Natalis*, who returning from the *Theodosian* Heresie, put himself into the Habit of a Penitent, threw himself at the Feet of the Clergy and Laity, as they went into their Publick Meeting-

<sup>1</sup>Προσπεσὼν τῷ ἐπισκό-  
πῳ, κλήρῳ, λαϊκῶν, τῷ  
ἑυσπλαγχνόν ἐκκλη-  
σίᾳ τῇ δέησει χρησά-  
μενον. Anonym. apud Eu-  
seb. lib. 5. cap. 28. p. 197.

place, and so bewail-  
ed his Fault, <sup>2</sup> that  
at length the Church  
was touched with  
Compassion towards  
him.

2. In this Diocess there was but one Church or Meeting-place ; for when

Bishop *Anterius* died,

<sup>2</sup>Ἀδελφῶν ἀπάντων ὅτι  
τῆς ἐκκλησίας συγκε-  
κροτημένων. Apud Euseb.  
lib. 6. cap. 28. p. 229.

<sup>2</sup> All the Brethren  
met together in the  
Church, to choose a  
Successor ; which di-

stinction or nomination of place, viz.  
That they met in the Church, denotes  
that they had but one Church all ; for  
if they had had more Churches than one,  
the Historian would have left us in the  
Dark, as to what Church they met in,  
whether

whether in St. James's, St. John's, or St. Peter's.

3. In this Bishoprick also they had but one Altar or Communion-Table, as appears from a Passage of *Cyprian*, who describes the Schism of *Novatian* a Presbyter of this Church, by <sup>1</sup> his erecting a Profane Altar, in opposition to the Altar of *Cornelius* his lawful Bishop.

<sup>1</sup> Profanum altare erigere. *Epist.* 67. § 2. p. 198.

4. The whole Diocess could concur together in Salutations and Letters to other Churches. Thus concludes a Letter of the Clergy of *Rome* to the Clergy of *Carthage*, <sup>2</sup>The Brethren which are in Bonds salute you, and the Presbyters, and the whole Church.

<sup>2</sup> Salutant vos fratres, qui sunt in vinculis, & Presbyteri, & tota Ecclesia. *Apud Cyprian. Epist.* 3. § 3. p. 12.

5. Whatever Letters were writ to that Church, were read before them all, as it was the Custom of Bishop *Cornelius* <sup>3</sup> to read all publick Letters to his most holy and most numerous Flock.

<sup>3</sup> Sanctissimæ atque amplissimæ plebi, legere te semper literas nostras. *Cyprian. Epist.* 55. § 21. p. 144.

Lastly.



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Lastly, The People of this Diocess met all together to choose a Bishop, when the See was vacant. So upon the

Death of *Anterus*,

<sup>1</sup> Τῶν ὁμοσελφῶν ἀπάντων ὅτι τῆς ἐκκλησίας συγκεκληρωμένων, καὶ πάντα λαόν. *Apud Euseb. lib.6. cap.28. p.229.*

<sup>1</sup> All the Brethren met together in the Church to chuse a Successor, where all the People unanimously

chose *Fabianus*. And so after the Death of *Fabianus*, *Cornelius* was chosen Bishop of that Diocess <sup>2</sup> by

<sup>2</sup> Cleri ac Plebis Suffragio. *Cyprian. Epist. 67. § 2. p.198.*

the Suffrage of the Clergy and People.

Now whether all these things put together, whether their having but one Communion-Table in their whole Diocess, as also but one Church, where they all usually met, do not unavoidably reduce this Bishoprick to the Circumference of a modern Parish, I leave every Man to judge.

§ 10. The next Diocess to be considered is *Carthage*, which next to *Rome* and *Alexandria*, was the greatest City in the World, and probably had as many Christians in it, as either, especially if that is true, which *Tertullian* insinuates, that the

the tenth part thereof was Christian; for he remonstrates to *Scapula* the Persecuting President of that City, that

<sup>1</sup> if he should destroy the Christians of Carthage, he must root out the Tenth part thereof. But yet

<sup>1</sup> Quid ipsa Carthago passura est, decimanda a te. *Ad Scapulam. p. 450.*

how many soever the Christians of that Bishoprick were, even some years after *Tertullian's* days, they were no more in number, than there are now in our Parishes, as is evident from Scores of Passages in the Writings of *Cyprian* Bishop of that Church. For,

1. The Bishop of that Diocess <sup>2</sup> could know every one therein.

<sup>2</sup> Ut omnes optime nossem. *Cyprian. Epist. 38. § 1. p. 90.*

2. The Bishop of that Diocess was the common Curator of all the Poor therein, relieving the Poor and Indigent, paying of their Debts, and aiding the necessitous Tradesmen with Money to set up their Trades. As *Cyprian* when he was in his exil'd State, sent *Caldonius*, *Herculanus*, *Rogatianus*, and *Numidicus* to his

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<sup>1</sup> Ut expungeretis necessitates fratrum nostrorum sumptibus, si qui etiam vellent suas artes exercere, additamento quantum satis esset, desideria eorum juvaretis. *Idem Ibidem.*

his Church at Carthage, <sup>1</sup> to pay off the Debts of the indebted Members thereof, and to help those poor Mechanicks with a convenient Sum of Money, who were willing to set

up their Trades. If Cyprian's Diocess had consisted of scores of Parishes, how many Thousand Pounds must he have expended, to have paid off the Debts of all the insolvent Persons therein, and to have assisted every poor Trader with a sufficient Stock to carry on his Employment?

3. All the Diocess was present, when the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was administred. So faith

<sup>2</sup> Sacramenti veritatem fraternitate omni præsente celebramus. *Epist.* 63. § 12. p. 177.

Cyprian, <sup>2</sup> We celebrate the Sacrament, the whole Brotherhood being present.

4. When Celerinus was ordained Lector or Clerk by Cyprian, he Read from

the Pulpit, so that

<sup>3</sup> Plebi Universæ. *Epist.* 34. § 4. p. 81.

<sup>3</sup> All the People could see and hear him.



5. In all Ordinations, all the People were consulted, and none were admitted into Holy Orders without their Approbation, as is assured by *Cyprian* Bishop of this Diocese, who tells us, that it was his constant custom

<sup>1</sup> in all Ordinations to consult his People, and with their common Counsel to weigh the merits of every Candidate of the Sacred Orders. And therefore when for extra-

<sup>1</sup> In ordinationibus Clericis, fratres charissimi, solemus vos ante consulere, & mores ac merita singulorum communi consilio ponderare. *Epist.* 33. ad Clerum & Plebem. p. 76.

ordinary Merits he advanced one to the Degree of a Lector or Clerk, without first communicating it to his Diocese, he writes from his Exalted State <sup>2</sup> to his whole Flock the Reason of it.

<sup>2</sup> Plebi Universæ. *Epist.* 34. p. 80.

6. When that See was vacant, all the People met together to chuse a Bishop. Whence *Pontius* says, that *Cyprian* was elected Bishop of this Diocese <sup>3</sup> by the favour of the people. And *Cyprian* himself acknowledges, that

<sup>3</sup> Plebis favore. In vita *Cypriani*.

E

he

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<sup>1</sup> Populi universi Suffragio. *Epist.* 55. § 7. p. 139.

he was chosen by <sup>1</sup> the Suffrage of his People.

7. All the People of this Diocese could meet together to send Letters to other Churches; an instance whereof we have in that gratulatory Letter still extant

<sup>2</sup> Vicarias vero pro nobis ego & Collegæ, & Fraternitas omnis has ad vos literas mittimus. *A. pud Cyprian. Epist.* 58. § 2. p. 163.

in *Cyprian*, which the <sup>2</sup> all sent to *Lucius* Bishop of Rome, on his Return from Exile.

8. All the People were present at Church-Censures, and concurred at the

<sup>3</sup> Secundum vestra divina Suffragia conjurati. *Epist.* 40. ad Plebem, § 1. p. 92.

<sup>3</sup> Excommunication of Offenders. Thus *Cyprian* writing from his Exile, to the People of this his Diocese,

about the Irregularities of two of his Subdeacons, and one of his Acolytes, and about the Schism of *Felicissimus*, assures them, that as to the former, whenever it should please God to return him

<sup>4</sup> Et cum plebe ipsa universa. *Epist.* 28. § 2. p. 64.

in Peace, <sup>4</sup> it should be determined by him and his Colleagues, and his whole

Flock. And as to the latter, that the like

likewise that should be transacted <sup>1</sup> according to the Arbitrament of the People, and the common Counsel of them all.

<sup>1</sup> Secundum arbitrium quoque vestrum, & omnium nostrum commune Consilium. *Epist.* 40. *ad Plebem*, § 7. p. 94.

9. At the Absolution of Penitents, all the People were present, who examined the Reality of the Offenders Repentance; and if well satisfied of it, consented, that they should be admitted to the Churches Peace. Therefore when some Presbyters in a time of Persecution, had with too great Rashness and Precipitancy assoyled some of those, that through the Violence of the Persecution had succumbed, *Cyprian* writes them from his Exile an objuratory Letter, commanding them to admit no more, till Peace should be restored to the Church, when those Offenders should plead

their Cause <sup>2</sup> before all the People. And touching the same matter

<sup>2</sup> Asturi apud Plebem universam causam suam. *Epist.* 10. § 4. p. 30.

he writes in another place to all the People of his Diocess, that when it should please God to restore Peace to the Church, then all those matters <sup>3</sup> should be ex-

<sup>3</sup> Examined singula præsensibus & judicantibus vobis. *Epist.* 12. *ad Plebem*, § 1. p. 37.



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*amined in their Presence, and be judged by them.*

Lastly, Nothing was done in this Diocess without the Consent of the People. So resolved

<sup>1</sup> A primordio episcopus mei statuerim nihil sine consensu Plebis meae privatâ sententiâ gerere. *Epist. 6. § 5. p. 17.*

Bishop Cyprian; <sup>1</sup> from the first time I was made Bishop, said he, I determined to do nothing without the consent of my people.

And accordingly when he was exil'd from his Flock, he writ to the Clergy and Laity thereof, that when it should please God to re-

<sup>5</sup> De iis quæ vel gesta sunt, vel gerenda, sicut honor mutuus poscit, in commune tractabimus. *Ibidem.*

turn him unto them, <sup>2</sup> all affairs, as their mutual Honour did require, should be debated in common by

them.

Now whether all these Observations do not evidently reduce the Diocess of Carthage to the same Bulk with our Parishes, I leave to every one to determine: For my part, I must needs profess, that I cannot imagin, how all the People thereof could receive the Sacrament together, assist at the Excommunication and Absolution of Offenders, assemble together

together to elect their Bishop, and do the rest of those forementioned particulars, without confining this Bishoprick within the Limits of a particular Congregation.

§ 11. As for the Diocess of *Alexandria*, though the numbers of the Christians therein were not so many, but that in the middle of the Fourth Century they could all, or at least most of them, meet together in one place, as I might evince from the Writings

of *Athanasius*, were <sup>1</sup> Apolog. ad Constant. it not beyond my

prescribed time; yet in the third Century they had divided themselves into several distinct and separate Congregations, which were all subjected to one Bishop, as is clearly enough asserted by *Dionysius* Bishop of this Church, who mentions, <sup>2</sup> the di-

stinct Congregations in the extremeſt Suburbs of the City. The Reason whereof seems to be this; Those

<sup>2</sup> Ἐν μεγάλῃσι πόρεσι  
τέρω κηρύοις καὶ μέ-  
γθ' ἔσονται συναγωγαί.  
*Advers. Germanum apud*  
*Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 11. p.*  
*260.*

Members of this Bishoprick, who lived in the remotest parts of it, finding it inconvenient and troublesome every Lords

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Day, Saturday, Wednesday and Friday (on which days they always assembled) to go to their one usual Meeting-place, which was very far from their own Homes; and withall being unwilling, to divide themselves from their old Church and Bishop, lest they should seem guilty of the Detestable Sin of Schism, which consisted in a Causeless Separation from their Bishop and Parish Church, as shall be hereafter shewn, desired their Proper Bishop, to give them leave for Conveniency sake to Erect near their own Habitations a Chappel of Ease, which should be a Daughter-Church to the Bishops, under his Jurisdiction, and guided by a Presbyter of his Commission and appointment, whereat they would usually meet, though on some Solemn Occasions they would still all assemble in one Church with their one Bishop.

That for this Reason these separate Congregations were introduced at Alexandria, seems evident enough; because Dyonisius Alexandrinus saith, that these

Εν αἰσθητοῖς τοῖς πό-  
τερος ἡμετέροις. Vide ut  
ante.

distinct Congregati-  
ons were only in  
the remotest Suburbs  
and the Christians

heretofore were not as yet arrived to those  
great



great numbers, but that seventy years after they could meet all together in one and the same place, as might be proved from that forementioned place of *Athanasius*.

So that these distinct Congregations were only for the Conveniency and Ease of those who lived at a great distance from the Bishops Church, being introduced in the third Century, and peculiar to the Bishoprick of *Alexandria*: All other Bishopricks confining themselves within their Primitive Bounds of a single Congregation, as we have before proved the largest of them did; even *Antioch*, *Rome*, and *Carthage*.

§. 12. If then a Bishoprick was but a single Congregation, it is no marvel that we find Bishops not only in Cities, but in Country Villages; there being a Bishop constituted, where-ever there were Believers enough to form a tolerable Congregation; For, says *Clemens Romanus*, the Apostles going

forth, and <sup>1</sup> preaching both in Country and City, constituted Bishops and Deacons there. Much to

<sup>1</sup> Κατὰ χώρας ἐν, καὶ πόλεις κηρύσσοντες κατέστησαν — εἰς ἐπισκόπους καὶ διακόνους, Epist. 1. ad Corinth. p. 54.

which purpose *Cyprian* says, That

E 4

Bishops

<sup>1</sup> Per omnes provincias,  
& per urbes singulas or-  
dinati sunt Episcopi, E-  
pist. 52. §. 16. p. 119.

the Synod of *Antioch*, it is said, That  
*Paulus Samosatenus* had many Flaterers

<sup>2</sup> Ἐπισκόπους τῶν ὁμόρων  
ἀγρῶν τε καὶ πόλεων, apud  
Euseb. Lib. 7. c. 30.  
p. 281.

<sup>3</sup> Ζωπικὸν ἀπὸ κομάνης  
κόμης. Anonym. apud  
Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 16.  
p. 182.

That many of those Bishops, who in  
the Year 258. were

<sup>4</sup> Concil. Carthag. apud  
Cyprian. p. 443.

of fourscore and seven, had no other  
than obscure Villages for their Seats,  
since we find not the least notice of them  
in *Ptolomy*, or any of the old Geogra-  
phers.

§. 13. But let the Bishops Seats have  
been in any place whatever, their Limits,  
as hath been proved, exceeded not those  
of our Modern Parishes: I do not here  
mean,

<sup>1</sup> Bishops were or-  
dained throughout all  
Provinces and Cities:

Hence in the Ency-  
clical Epistle of

<sup>2</sup> amongst the adja-  
cent City and Coun-  
try Bishops; of this  
sort of Country.

Bishops was *Zoti-  
cus*, Bishop <sup>3</sup> of the  
Village of Comane.

And we may rea-  
sonably believe,

assembled at <sup>4</sup> *Car-  
thage* to the number

mean, as was said before, that the Territory of some of them, was no larger; no, I readily grant that; for it is very probable, that in those places, where there were but few Believers, the Christians, for several Miles round, met all together at the greatest place within that Compass, where probably there were most Christians, whence both the Church and its Bishop took their Denomination from that Place where they so assembled. But this is what I mean, that there were no more Christians in that Bishoprick, than there are now in our ordinary Parishes; and that the Believers of that whole Territory met altogether with their Bishop for the Performance of Religious Services.

Thus it was in the Age and Country of *Justin Martyr*, who describing their solemn Assemblies, writes, That <sup>1</sup> on Sunday all the Inhabitants both of City and Country met together, where the Lecter read some Portions of the Holy Scriptures; and the Bishop preached unto them, administered

Ἡ τῇ τῷ ἡλίῳ λεγόμενῃ  
ἡμέρᾳ πάντων χτὶ πέλει  
ἢ ἀγρὸς μενόντων ἐπὶ τὸ  
αὐτὸ συνέλδοις γίνεται—  
ὁ πρεσβυτέρω δια λόγου πρὸς  
ἐκδεσίου— ποιεῖται ἐ-  
πίτα— ἀρτὸ πρεσφύρε-  
ται, καὶ ὁ πρεσβυτέρω εὐχὰς  
ἀναπέμπει— καὶ τοῖς ἐ-  
παρεῖσι διὰ τῶν διακόνων  
πέμπεται. *Apologet. 2. p. 98.*

the



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the Eucharist, and sent by the Deacons part of the Consecrated Elements to those that were absent. So that the Inhabitants both of City and Country, assembled all at the Bishop's Church, hearing him, and Communicating with him, following herein the Exhortation of Saint Ignatius

to the Magnesians,

Μηδὲν ἔσω ἐν ὑμῶν  
ὃ συνίσταται ὑμᾶς μερί-  
σαι ἀλλ' ἐνώθητε τῷ  
ἐπισκόπῳ, καὶ τοῖς πρε-  
σβυτέροις — ὥσπερ ἐν  
κύβητι ἀνευ τοῦ πατρὸς  
ἐδὲν ἐποίησε ἡνώμην  
αὐτῶν, ἕτε οἱ ἑαυτῶν, ἕτε  
διὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων, ἕτως  
μηδ' ἐὺμεῖς ἀνευ τοῦ ἐπι-  
σκόπου καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέ-  
ρων μηδὲν πράττειτε —  
ἀλλ' ὅτι πρὸς αὐτὸ μία  
προσευχὴ, μία δέησις,  
εἰς νῆς, μία ἐλπίς. Epist.  
ad Magnes. p. 33.

Let nothing, faith  
he, be in you, that  
may divide you; but  
be united to the Bi-  
shop, and those that  
preside over you:  
As therefore our  
Lord Jesus Christ  
did nothing without  
his Father, neither by  
himself, nor his A-  
postles, so do you no-  
thing without the Bi-

shop and Presbyters, but assemble into one place, and have one Prayer, one Supplication, one Mind, and one Hope.

### C H A P. III.

§. 1. *What the Bishop's Office was.* §. 2. *Always Resident on his Cure.* §. 3. *How the Bishop was Chosen, Elected, or Presented by the Majority of the Parish.* §. 4. *Approved by the neighbouring Bishops.* §. 5. *Installed by imposition of Hands. How many Bishops necessary to this Instalment.* §. 6. *When a Bishop was promoted, he certified it to other Bishops.* §. 7. *A brief Recapitulation of the peculiar Acts of the Bishop.*

§. 1. **T**H E Bishop's Flock having been so largely discussed, it will now be necessary to speak something of the Bishop's Duty towards them, and of the several Particulars of his honourable Offices: I shall not here be tedious, since about this there is no great difference; only briefly enumerate the several Actions belonging to his Charge.

In brief therefore; the particular Acts of his Function were such as these, viz.  
*Preach.*

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<sup>1</sup> Origen. in Ezekiel.  
Hom. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Justin. Martyr. Apol.  
2. p. 98.

<sup>3</sup> Tertul. de Baptism.  
p. 602.

<sup>4</sup> Idem de Coron. Mi-  
lit. p. 338.

<sup>5</sup> Justin. Martyr. Apol.  
2. p. 99.

<sup>6</sup> Firmilian. apud Cy-  
prian. Epist. 75. §. 6.  
p. 237.

<sup>7</sup> Tertul. Apol. cap.  
39. p. 709.

<sup>8</sup> Cyprian. Ep. 38. §. 2.  
p. 90.

<sup>9</sup> Idem Epist. 10. §. 2.  
p. 30.

<sup>1</sup> Preaching of the  
Word, <sup>2</sup> Praying  
with his People, ad-  
ministring the two  
Sacraments of <sup>3</sup> Ba-  
ptism and the <sup>4</sup> Lords  
Supper, <sup>5</sup> taking care  
of the Poor, <sup>6</sup> Ordain-  
ing of Ministers,  
<sup>7</sup> governing his Flock,  
<sup>8</sup> Excommunicating  
of Offenders, <sup>9</sup> Ab-  
solving of Penitents;  
and, in a word;  
whatever Acts can  
be comprised under  
those three General

Heads of Preaching, Worship, and Go-  
vernment, were parts of the Bishop's  
Function and Office.

I have but just named these things,  
because they are not much controvert-  
ed; and my Design leads me chiefly to  
the Consideration of those matters which  
have been unhappily disputed amongst  
us.

§. 2. To the constant Discharge of  
those forementioned Actions, did the  
Primitive Bishops sedulously apply them-  
selves,



selves, continually preaching unto their People, praying with them, and watching over them, and to that end, residing always with them; which Incumbency or Residency on their Parishes, was deem'd so necessary, that *Cyprian* enumerating the Sins that brought the Wrath of God upon the Churches in that bloody Persecution of *Decius*, mentions the Bishops Non-residencies as

one; <sup>1</sup> *Their leaving their Rectories, and deserting their Flocks, and wandring about the Country to hunt after worldly*

<sup>1</sup> *Episcopi derelictâ cathedrâ, plebe desertâ, per alias Provincias oberrantes, negotiationis quæstuosæ nundinas aucupari. De Lapsis §. 4. p. 278.*

*Gain and Advantage*: And therefore the said *Cyprian* writing to the *Roman* Confessors, who were inveigled into the Schism of *Novati-*

*an*, tells them, <sup>2</sup> *that since he could not leave his Church, and come in Person*

<sup>2</sup> *Nos Ecclesiâ derelictâ, foras exire, & ad vos venire non possumus. Epist. 44. §. 2. p. 102.*

*unto them*, therefore by his Letters he most earnestly exhorted them to quit that Schismatical Faction; so that he look't on his obligation of Residency at his Church to be so binding, as that in  
no

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no Case almost, could he warrant the leaving of it; which Determination of his might be the more fix'd and peremptory, because that not long before, he

<sup>1</sup> Epist. 3. apud Cyprian. p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Pontius in vita Cypriani.

was so severely tax'd<sup>1</sup> by the Roman Clergy, and by many of his own<sup>2</sup> Parish, for departing from them for a while, though

it was to avoid the Fury of his Persecutors, who had already proscribed him, and would have executed him as a Malefactor, had he not by that Recess from his Church, escaped their murderous Hand.

So that the Primitive Apostolick Bishops constantly resided with their Flocks, conscientiously applying themselves with the utmost Diligence and Industry to the Promotion of the Spiritual Welfare of those that were committed to their trust, employing themselves in all Acts of Piety, and Offices of Charity; so leading a laborious and mortified Life, till either a natural, or a violent Death removed them from Earth to Heaven, where they were made Priests to the most High, and were infinitely remunerated for all their Pains

Pains and Sorrows; and so leaving their particular Flocks on Earth, to be fed and govern'd by others, who should succeed them in their Places; which brings me in the next place to enquire, How a vacant Bishoprick was supplied, or in what manner a Bishop or Minister was elected to a Diocess or Parish?

§. 3. Now the manner of electing a Bishop, I find to be thus: When a Parish or Bishoprick was vacant through the Death of the Incumbent, all the Members of that Parish, both Clergy and Laity, met together in the Church commonly, to chuse a fit Person for his Successor, to whom they might commit the Care and Government of their Church.

Thus when *Alexander* was chosen Bishop of *Jerusalem*, it was by the <sup>1</sup> Compulsion or Choice of the Members of that Church. And as for the Bishoprick of *Rome*, we have a memorable Instance of this kind in the Advancement of *Fabianus* to that See, upon the Death of Bishop *Anterus*:

<sup>1</sup> Ἀδελφοὶ ἐκέτ' ὄντα-  
δε αὐτῷ παλινεσεῖν ἐπι-  
τρέπουσι. Euseb. lib. 6. cap.  
11. p. 212.

<sup>1</sup> All



Ἰ Τῶν γὰρ ἀδελφῶν ἀ-  
πάντων χειροτονίας ἔνεκεν  
τῆς τῆς μέλλοντος Δια-  
δέξασθαι τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν  
ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας συγ-  
κεκροτημένων, πλείων τε  
ἐπιφανῶν καὶ ἐνδόξων ἀν-  
δρῶν τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐν  
ὑπονοίᾳ ὑπαρχόντων, ὁ  
Φαβιανὸς παρὼν, ἔδενδς  
μὴ ἀνδρώπων εἰς διάνοι-  
αν ἦει, ὥμως δ' ἐν ἀ-  
δελφῶς ἐκ μετεώρου πει-  
σερῶν καταπίσσαν ἐπι-  
δεικνύσας τῇ αὐτῇ κεφαλῇ  
μνημονεύσας, μίμημα ἐν-  
δεικνυμένῳ τῆς ἐπὶ τῇ  
σωτῆρι τῇ ἀγίᾳ πνεύμα-  
τι ἐν εἶδει πεισερῶς  
καθόδου, ἐφ' ᾧ τὸ πάντα  
λαὸν ὥσπερ ὑφ' ἐνὸς  
πνεύματος θεῖς κινη-  
θέντα ὁμῶς, προθυμίᾳ  
πάσῃ καὶ μιᾷ ψυχῇ ἀξίον  
ἐπιβῆσαι καὶ ἀμελλήτως  
ἐπὶ τῇ θρόνον τῆς ἐπισκο-  
πῆς λαβόντας αὐτὸν ἐπι-  
θεῖναι. Euseb. lib. 6. cap.  
28. p. 229.

All the People met  
together in the  
Church to chuse a  
Successor, proposing  
several illustrious and  
eminent Personages,  
as fit for that Of-  
fice, whilst no one  
so much as thought  
upon Fabianus then  
present, till a Dove  
miraculously came  
and sate upon his  
Head, in the same  
manner as the Holy  
Ghost formerly de-  
scended on our Sa-  
viour; and then all  
the People guided as  
it were, with one  
Divine Spirit, cryed  
out with one Mind  
and Soul, That Fa-  
bianus was wor-  
thy of the Bishop-  
rick; and so straightways taking him, they  
placed him on the Episcopal Throne. And  
as Fabianus, so likewise his Successor

Cornelius <sup>1</sup> was elected by the suffrage of the Clergy and Laity.

<sup>1</sup> Episcopo Cornelio--  
Cleri ac plebis suffragio  
ordinato. *Cyprian. Epist. 67.*  
§. 2. p. 198.

Thus also with respect to the Diocess of Carthage, Cyprian was chosen Bishop thereof by its Inhabitants and Members, as Pontius his Deacon writes,

<sup>2</sup> That though he was a Novice, yet by the Grace of God, and the favour of the People, he was elevated to that su-

<sup>2</sup> Judicio Dei, & plebis favore ad Officium Sacerdotii, & Episcopatus Gradum, adhuc Neophytus-- electus est. *In Vita Cypriani.*

blime Dignity; which is no more than what Cyprian himself acknowledges, who frequently owns, that he was promoted to that Honourable Charge by the

<sup>3</sup> Suffrage of the People.

<sup>3</sup> Populi universi suffragio. *Epist. 55. §. 7.*  
p. 139. Populi suffragium.

*Epist. 55. §. 6. p. 138.*  
*Epist. 40. §. 1. p. 92.*

Suffragium vestrum, *E-*

§. 4. When the People had thus elected a Bishop, they presented him to the neighbouring Bishops for their Approbation and Consent, because without their concurrent Assent, there could be no Bishop legally instituted, or confirmed.

F

Thus

Thus when the forementioned *Alexander* was chosen Bishop of *Jerusalem*, the Brethren of that place; he had a

<sup>1</sup> Τὸτο ὃ παρ' ἡμῶν  
μετακοινῆς τῶν ἐπισκόπων  
ἐκ τῶν πλείων διεῖπον ἐκ-  
κλησίαις γινώμεν. *Euseb.*  
*lib. 6. cap. 11. p. 212.*

<sup>1</sup> the common Con-  
sent of the circum-  
jacent Bishops. No  
the Reason of the  
I suppose, was, that  
the People through

Ignorance or Affection, should chuse  
unfit, or an unable Man for that sacred  
Office; it being supposed, that a Synod  
of Bishops had more Wisdom, Learn-  
ing, and Prudence, than a Congregation  
of unlearned and ignorant Men, and  
were better able to judge of the Abili-  
ties and Qualifications of the Person elec-  
ted than the People were. Hence we find  
that sometimes the Election of a Bishop  
is attributed to the Choice of the Neigh-  
bouring Bishops, with the Consent and  
Suffrage of the People: This Custom ge-  
nerally prevail'd throughout *Africa* and

<sup>2</sup> Apud nos, & fere per  
Provincias universas te-  
netur, ut ad Ordinatione-  
m rite celebrandas, ad  
eam plebem cui Præ-  
positus ordinatur, Epi-  
scopi ejusdem Provinciæ  
proximi quique con-

where upon the  
Vacancy of a See  
<sup>2</sup> The Neighbouring  
Bishops of the Pro-  
vince met together  
at that Church, and  
chuse a Bishop in  
presence of the



presence of the People, who knew his Life and Conversation before; which Custom was observed in the Election of Sabinus, Bishop of Emerita in Spain, who was advanc'd to that Dignity by the Suffrage of all the Brethren, and of all

venient, & Episcopus deligatur; plebe præsente, quæ singulorum vitam plenissime novit, & unuscujusque actum de ejus Conversatione perspexit. Quod factum videmus in Sabini Ordinatione, ut de universæ fraternitatis Suffragio, & de Episcoporum judicio Episcopatus ei deferetur. Synod. African. apud Cyprian. Epist. 68. § 6. p. 202.

the Bishops there present. But whether the Election of a Bishop, be ascribed to the adjoining Ministers, or to the People of that Parish, it comes all to one and the same thing; neither the Choice of the Bishops of the Voisinage, without the Consent of the People; nor the Election of the People, without the Approbation of those Bishops, was sufficient and valid of it self; but both concurred to a legal and orderly Promotion, which was according to the Example of the Apostles and Apostolick Preachers, who in the first Plantation of

Churches, Or-  
dained Bishops and  
Deacons, with the  
Consent of the whole  
Church.

Καταθέντας ὑπὸ  
ἐκείνων ἢ μεταξὺ ὧν ἐτέ-  
ρων ἐλλογίμων ἀνδρῶν  
συνδεδουκείσης τῆς ἐκ-  
κλησίας πάσης. Clem.  
Roman. Epist. 1. ad Co-  
rinth. pag. 57.

F 2

§. 5. A

§. 5. A Bishop being thus elected, confirmed, the next thing that followed was his Ordination or Instalment, which was done in his own Church by neighbouring Bishops; as *Cyprian* mentions some Bishops in his time, who were

<sup>1</sup> In Capensi Civitate propter Ordinationem Episcopi essetis, *Epist.* 53. § 1. p. 131.

to <sup>1</sup> a City called Capse to install a Bishop; which when they were come, they took

the Bishop Elect, and in the presence of his Flock, Ordained, or Installed him Bishop of that Church, by Imposition

Hands, as *Sabinus* was <sup>2</sup> placed in the Bishoprick by Imposition of Hands.

<sup>2</sup> Episcopatus ei deferretur, & manus ei imponeretur. *Apud Cyprian. Epist.* 68. §. 6. p. 202.

Therefore *Fortunatus*

*natus* the Schismatical Bishop of Carthage, <sup>3</sup> got five

<sup>3</sup> Quinque Pseudo-episcopi Carthaginem venerint, & Fortunatum sibi dementiæ suæ socium constituerint. *Cyprian. Epist.* 55 § 12. p. 140.

shops to come and condemn him at Carthage: And so *Novatian*, when he schismatically inspired to the

shoprick of Rome, that he might not seem to leap in uncanonically

<sup>1</sup> wheedled

sheedled three igno-  
rant and simple Bishops  
come to Rome,  
and instal him in that  
Bishoprick by impo-  
sition of Hands.

<sup>1</sup> Ἐπισκοπὸς τρεῖς ἀνδρά-  
πας ἀγροίκους καὶ ἀπλῆ-  
στατες πλάσῃ πρὶ ἐπιχει-  
ρήσει ἑξουτοῦσιν. — μετὰ  
βίβας ἡν ἀγχασεν εἰκονικῇ  
πρὶ καὶ ματαία χειρεπι-  
θεσία ἐπισκοπὴν αὐτοῦ

Græc. Cornel. apud Euseb. lib. 6. c. 43. p. 243.

How many Bishops were necessary to  
his installing of a Bishop Elect, I find  
not; Three were sufficient, as is appa-  
rent from the forecited action of Nova-  
tian; whether less would do, I know not,  
since I find not the least footsteps of it  
in my Antiquity, unless that from No-  
vatian's sending for, and fetching just  
three Bishops out of Italy, we conclude  
that Number to be necessary.

But if there were more than Three,  
it was not accounted unnecessary or need-  
less; for the more Bishops there were  
present at an Instalment, the more did its  
validity and unexceptionableness appear:  
Whence Cyprian argues the undeniable  
legality of Cornelius's Promotion to the  
See of Rome, be-  
cause he had <sup>2</sup> six-  
teen Bishops present  
at his Ordination:  
And for this Rea-

<sup>2</sup> Episcopo in Ecclesia  
à sedecim Coepiscopis fa-  
cto. Epist. 52. §. 16.  
p. 119.



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son it was, that *Fortunatus*, the Schismatical Bishop of *Carthage* falsely boasted

<sup>1</sup> *Jactare viginti quinque Episcopos affuisse.*  
*Cyprian. Epist. 55. § 12.*  
*p. 140.*

That there were  
<sup>1</sup> *Twenty five Bishops*  
*present at his Installation.* And thus in  
short, we have view-

ed the Method of the Ancients in their Election of Bishops; we have shewn, that they were elected by the People, approved and installed by the Neighbouring Bishops; on which Account it is, that

<sup>2</sup> *Delecti, ordinati.* *Epist. 41. § 2. p. 97.*

*Cyprian* calls them  
<sup>2</sup> *Chosen and ordained.*

§. 6. It may not now be amiss to mention this Custom, that when a Bishop was thus presented and advanced to a See, he immediately gave notice of it to other Bishops, especially to the most renowned

<sup>3</sup> *Tu te Episcopum factum literis nunciare.*  
*Cyprian. Epist. 42. § 4.*  
*p. 99.*

Bishops and Bishopricks, as <sup>3</sup> *Cornelius* writ to *Cyprian* Bishop of *Carthage*, an Account

of his being promoted to the See of *Rome*; betwixt which two Churches, there was such a peculiar Intercourse and Harmony, as that this Custom was more

more particularly observed by them, in-  
omuch that it was observed by the  
schismatical Bishops of each Church,

*Novatian* giving  
notice to *Cyprian*,  
Bishop of *Carthage*,  
of his Promotion  
to the Church of

<sup>1</sup> Venerunt ad nos mis-  
si à Novatiano Maximus  
Presbyter, &c. *Cyprian*.  
*Epist.* 41. § 1. p. 96.

*Rome*: And <sup>2</sup> *For-*  
*tunatus* advising  
*Cornelius* Bishop of

<sup>2</sup> Ad te Legati à For-  
tunato missi. *Idem Epist.*  
55. § 18. p. 143.

*Rome*, of his Advancement to the Church  
of *Carthage*.

§. 7. Let what hath been spoken now  
suffice for the peculiar Acts of the Bi-  
shop: We have proved, that there was  
but one Bishop to a Church, and one  
Church to a Bishop; we have shewn the  
Bishop's Office and Function, Election  
and Ordination; what farther to add on  
this Head, I know not: For as for those  
other Acts which he performed joyntly  
with his Flock, we must refer them to  
another Place, till we have handled those  
other Matters which previously propose  
themselves unto us: The first of which  
will be an Examination into the Office  
and Order of a Presbyter, which, because  
it will be somewhat long, shall be the Sub-  
ject of the following Chapter.

## CHAP. IV.

§. 1. *The Definition and Description of a Presbyter ; what he was.* §. 2. *Inferior to a Bishop in Degree:* §. 3. *But equal to a Bishop in Order.* §. 4. *The Reason why there were many Presbyters in a Church.* §. 5. *Presbyters not necessary to the Constitution of a Church.* §. 6. *When Presbyters began,*

§. 1. **I**T will be both needless and tedious to endeavour to prove, that the Ancients generally mention Presbyters distinct from Bishops. Every one, I suppose, will readily own and acknowledge it. The great Question which hath most deplorably sharpened and sour'd the Minds of too many, is what the Office and Order of a Presbyter was: About this the World hath been, and still is most uncharitably divided; some equalize a Presbyter in every thing with a Bishop; others as much debase him, each according to their particular Opinions, either advance or degrade him. In many Controversies a middle way hath been the



the safest, perhaps in this, the Medium between the two Extremes may be the truest: Whether what I am now going to say, be the true state of the Matter, I leave to the Learned Reader to determine; I may be deceived, neither mine Years, nor Abilities exempt me from Mistakes and Errors: But this I must needs say, That after the most diligent Researches, and impartiallest Enquiries, The following Notion seems to me most plausible, and most consentaneous to Truth; and which, with a great facility and clearness, solves those Doubts and Objections, which, according to those other Hypotheses, I know not how to answer. But yet however, I am not so wedded and bigotted to this Opinion, but if any shall produce better, and more convincing Arguments to the contrary, I will not contentiously defend, but readily relinquish it, since I search after Truth, not to promote a particular Party or Interest.

Now for the better Explication of this Point, I shall first lay down a Definition and Description of a Presbyter, and then prove the parts thereof.

Now the Definition of a Presbyter may be this: *A Person in Holy Orders, having there-*

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*thereby an inherent Right to perform the whole Office of a Bishop; but being possessed of no Place or Parish, not actually discharging it, without the Permission and Consent of the Bishop of a Place or Parish.*

But lest this Definition should seem obscure, I shall illustrate it, by this following Instance: As a Curate hath the same Mission and Power with the Minister, whose Place he supplies; yet being not the Minister of that place, he cannot perform there any acts of his Ministerial Function, without leave from the Minister thereof: So a Presbyter had the same Order and Power with a Bishop, whom he assisted in his Cure; yet being not the Bishop or Minister of that Cure, he could not there perform any parts of his Pastoral Office, without the permission of the Bishop thereof: So that what we generally render Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, would be more intelligible in our Tongue, if we did express it by Rectors, Vicars, and Deacons; by Rectors, understanding the Bishops; and by Vicars, the Presbyters; the former being the actual Incumbents of a Place, and the latter Curates or Assistants, and so different in Degree, but yet equal in Order.

NOW

Now this is what I understand by a Presbyter; for the Confirmation of which, these two things are to be proved.

I. That the Presbyters were the Bishops Curates and Assistants; and so inferior to them in the actual Exercise of their Ecclesiastical Commission.

II. That yet notwithstanding, they had the same inherent Right with the Bishops, and so were not of a distinct specifick Order from them. Or more briefly thus:

1. That the Presbyters were different from the Bishops *in gradu*, or *in Degree*; but yet,

2. They were equal to them *in Ordine*, or *in Order*.

§. 2. As to the first of these; That Presbyters were but the Bishops Curates and Assistants, inferior to them in Degree, or in the actual Discharge of their Ecclesiastical Commission. This will appear to have been, in effect, already proved, if we recollect what has been asserted, touching the Bishop and his Office, That there was but one Bishop in a Church; That he usually performed all the parts of Divine Service; That he  
was



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was the general Disposer and Manager of all things within his Diocess, there being nothing done there without his Consent and Approbation: To which we may particularly add,

1. That without the Bishop's leave, a Presbyter could not baptize: Thus

<sup>1</sup> Baptismum dandi habet jus. Episcopus, dehinc Presbyteri & Diaconi, non tamen sine Episcopi auctoritate propter Ecclesiæ honorem. De Baptism. p. 602.

without the Authority of the Bishop; and to the same Effect,

<sup>2</sup> Οὐκ ἔστιν ἔστιν ᾧ ἐπι-  
σκοπῶν ἢ ἐπὶ βασι-  
λεὺς. Epist. ad Smira.  
p. 6.

saith Tertullian<sup>1</sup>, The Bishop hath the Right of Baptizing, then the Presbyters and Deacons, but yet for the Honour of the Church, not  
saith Ignatius, <sup>2</sup> It is not lawful for any one to Baptize, except the Bishop permit him.

2. Without the Bishop's permission, a Presbyter could not administer the Lords

<sup>3</sup> Ἐκεῖνη βέλεια δὲ  
ῥαίστα ἢ γείδω, ἢ ὑπὸ  
ἐπισκοπῶν ἢ ὑπὸ ἀν-  
τιπρεβυτέρων ἢ ὑπὸ  
ἐπιστολῶν ἢ ἐπὶ  
ἀγάλω ποιῆν. Epist. ad  
Smirn. p. 6.

Supper. <sup>3</sup> That En-  
charist, says Igna-  
tius, is only valid,  
which is performed  
by the Bishop, or by  
whom he shall permit;  
for it is not lawful  
for

for any one to celebrate the Eucharist, without leave from the Bishop.

3. Without the Bishop's Consent, a Presbyter could not preach; and when he did preach, he could not chuse his own Subject, but discoursed on those Matters which were enjoined him by the Bishop, as <sup>1</sup> the Bishop commanded Origen to preach about the Witch of Endor.

<sup>1</sup> Τα καὶ τῆς ἐγγαστρι-  
μύδου, φήσιν, Ἰζαζέδω.  
Homil. de Engastrym.  
p. 28. Vol. I.

4. Without the Bishop's permission, a Presbyter could not absolve Offenders, therefore Cyprian <sup>2</sup> severely chides some of his Presbyters, because they dared in his absence, without his Consent and Leave, to give the Church's Peace to some offending Criminals.

<sup>2</sup> Aliqui de Presbyteris, nec Evangelii, nec loci sui memores, sed neque futurum Domini Judicium, neque nunc sibi præpositum Episcopum cogitantes, quod nunquam omnino sub Antecessoribus factum est, cum contumeliâ & contemptu præpositi totum sibi vendicent. *Epist.*

10. § 1. p. 29. Vide etiam *Epist.* 11. § 1. p. 32. & *Epist.* 12. § 1. p. 37.

But what need I reckon up particulars, when in general there was no Ecclesiastical Office performed by the Presbyters, without

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without the Consent and Permission of the Bishop : So says

<sup>1</sup> Μηδεις χωρις τῆς ἐπισκόπου ἢ πρεσβυτέρου τῶν ἀννηκόντων εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. Epist. ad Smirn. p. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Ὁ λάθρα ὁπισκόπου ἢ πρεσβυτέρου διαβόλῳ λατρεῖ. Idem ibid. p. 7.

*Ignatius, 1 Let nothing be done of Ecclesiastical Concerns, without the Bishop; for 2 Whosoever doth any thing without the knowledge of the Bi-*

*shop, is a Worshipper of the Devil.*

Now had the Presbyters had an equal Power in the Government of those Churches wherein they lived, how could it have been impudent and usurping in them to have perform'd the particular acts of their Ecclesiastical Function, without the Bishop's Leave and Consent? No, it was not fit or just, that any one should preach, or govern in a Parish, without the permission of the Bishop or Pastor thereof; for where Churches had been regularly formed under the Jurisdiction of their proper Bishops, it had been an unaccountable Impudence, and a most detestable act of Schism for any one, though never so legally Ordained, to have entred those Parishes, and there to have performed Ecclesiastical Administrations, without the permission of, or which is all one, in Defiance to the Bishops,



shops, or Ministers thereof; for though a Presbyter by his Ordination had as ample an inherent Right and Power to discharge all Clerical Offices, as any Bishop in the World had; yet Peace, Unity, and Order obliged him not to invade that part of Gods Church, which was committed to another Man's Care, without that Man's Approbation and Consent.

So then in this Sense a Presbyter was inferiour to a Bishop in Degree, in that having no Parish of his own, he could not actually discharge the particular Acts of his Ministerial Function, without leave from the Bishop of a Parish or Diocess: The Bishops were superiour to the Presbyters, in that they were the presented, instituted, and inducted Ministers of their respective Parishes; and the Presbyters were inferiour to the Bishops, in that they were but their Curates and Assistants.

§. 3. But though the Presbyters were thus different from the Bishops in Degree, yet they were of the very same specifick Order with them, having the same inherent Right to perform those Ecclesiastical Offices, which the Bishop did, as will

will appear from these three Arguments.

1. That by the Bishop's permission they discharged all those Offices, which a Bishop did. 2. That they were called by the same Titles and Appellations as the Bishops were: And, 3. That they are expressly said to be of the same Order with the Bishops. As to the first of these That by the Bishop's Permission, they discharged all those Offices which a Bishop did, this will appear from that.

1. When the Bishop ordered them they preach'd. Thus *Origen*, in the beginning of some of his Sermons, tells us That he was commanded thereunto by the Bishop, as particularly when he preach'd

<sup>1</sup> Ταὐτὰ ἡμεῖς ἐγγασσε-  
μύθη, οἵσιν, ἐξεταζέσθω.  
Hom. de Engastrym. p.  
28. vol. 1.

about the Witch of  
*Endor*; he says, 'The  
Bishop commanded  
him to do it.'

2 By the permission of the Bishop, Presbyters baptized. Thus writes *Tertul-*

<sup>2</sup> Baptismum dandi ha-  
bet jus- Episcopus, de-  
hinc Presbyteri & Dia-  
coni; non tamen sine Epi-  
scopi auctoritate. *De Bap-  
tism. p. 602.*

*lian*, <sup>2</sup> The Bishop  
has the Right of Bap-  
tizing, and then the  
Presbyters, but not  
without his leave.

3. By the leave of the Bishop, Presbyters administered the Eucharist, as much

be supposed in that saying of Ignatius,

That that Eucha-

rist only was valid,

which was celebra-

ted by the Bishop, or

by one appointed by

him; and that the

Eucharist could not

be delivered but by

the Bishop, or by one whom he did ap-

prove.

<sup>1</sup> Ἐκείνη βεβαία εὐ-  
χαριστία ἡ γείδω, ἢ ὑπὸ  
ἐπίσκοπον ἢ πρεσβυ-  
τέρου ἐπιτρέψαν-  
τος ἐστὶν ἡμεῖς τῷ ἐπίσκοπῳ  
ἀγάπῃ ποιῆν, ἀλλ' ὁ ἄν-  
θρωπος ἐκείνῳ δοκιμάσῃ. Epist.  
ad Smirn. p. 6.

4. The Presbyters ruled in those Churches to which they belonged, else this Exhortation of Polycarpus to the Presbyters of Philippi, would have been in vain; <sup>2</sup> Let the

Presbyters be tender

and merciful, com-

passionate towards all,

reducing those that

<sup>2</sup> Epist. ad Philip. § 5.  
Thus translated by Dr.  
Cave, in the Life of St.  
Polycarp, p. 127.

are in Errors, visiting all that are weak,

not negligent of the Widow and the Orphan,

and him that is poor; but ever providing

what is honest in the sight of God and Men;

abstaining from all Wrath, Respect of Persons,

and unrighteous Judgment; being far from

Covetousness, not hastily believing a Report

against any Man, not rigid in Judgment,

knowing that we are all faulty, and obnoxious

to Judgment. Hence,

G

5. They



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5. They presided in Church-Consistories together with the Bishop, and composed the executive part of the Ecclesiastical Court; from whence it was called *the Presbytery*, because in it, as *Tertullian* says, <sup>1</sup> *Approved Elders did preside.*

<sup>1</sup> *Probari president Seniores. Apol. c. 39. p. 709.*

6. They had also the Power of Excommunication, and

<sup>2</sup> *Vid. Cyprian. Epist. 38, & 39. p. 90, & 92.*

<sup>2</sup> *Rogatianus and Numidicus, Two*

Presbyters of *Cyprian's* Church, by his Order joyn'd with some Bishops of his Nomination, in the Excommunication of certain Schismatics of his Diocess. But of both these two Heads, more will be spoken in another place.

7. Presbyters restored returning Penitents, to the Church's peace. Thus we read in an Epistle of *Dionysius*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, That a certain Offender called *Serapion*, approaching to the time of his Dissolution

<sup>3</sup> *Τὸν πρεσβυτέρου μοι πινὲν γέλατον ἐντολὴς ἡ δὲ ἐπὶ Σεραπίωνος τοῖς ἀλλοιῶσι δόξαι τὸ εἶναι ἀνάστα. Ad Fabium Antioch. apud Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 44. p. 246.*

<sup>3</sup> *Sent for one of the Presbyters to absolve him, which the Presbyter did, according to the Order of the Bishop, who had be-*

fore commanded, That the Presbyters should absolve those who were in danger of Death.

8. Presbyters Confirmed, as we shall most evidently prove, when we come to treat of Confirmation: Only remark here by the way, That in the days of *Cyprian*, there was a hot Controversie, Whether those that were baptized by Hereticks, and came over to the Catholick Church, should be received as Members thereof by Baptism and Confirmation, or by Confirmation alone? Now I would fain know, Whether during the vacancy of a See, or the Bishop's absence, which sometimes might be very long, as *Cyprian* was absent two years, a Presbyter could not admit a returning Heretick to the Peace and Unity of the Church, especially if we consider their positive Damnation of all those that died out of the Church? If the Presbyters had not had this Power of Confirmation, many penitent Souls must have been damn'd for the unavoidable Default of a Bishop, which is too cruel and unjust to imagine.

9. As for Ordination, I find but little said of this in Antiquity; yet as little as there is, there are clearer Proofs of the Presbyters Ordaining, than there are of

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\* Omnis potestas & gratia in Ecclesiâ constituta sit ubi præsident majores natu, qui & baptizandi, & manum imponendi, & ordinandi possident potestatem. *Apud Cyprian. Epist. 75. § 6. p. 237.*

and Ordaining ; or as it may be rendred, and perhaps more agreeable to the Sense of the place ; *Who had the Power as of Baptizing, so also of Confirming and Ordaining.* What these Seniors were, will be best understood by a parallel place in *Tertullian* ; for that place in *Tertullian*, and this in *Firmilian*, are usually cited to expound one another, by most Learn-

<sup>2</sup> Primitive Christianity. *Part. 3. cap. 5. p. 379.*

in *Tertullian* is this ;

<sup>3</sup> Probati præsident Seniores. *Apolog. c. 39. p. 709.*

shops and Presbyters must necessarily be understood ; because *Tertullian* speaks here of the Discipline exerted in one par-

their administering the Lords Supper : *All Power and Grace, faith Firmilian, is constituted in the Church, where Seniors preside, who have the Power of Baptizing, Confirming,*

ed Men, as by the most learned Dr. *Cave* and others.

Now the passage

in the Ecclesiastical Courts <sup>3</sup> approved Elders preside :

Now by these approved Elders, Bi-

par-



particular Church or Parish, in which there was but one Bishop; and if only he had presided, then there could not have been Elders in the Plural Number; but there being many Elders to make out their Number, we must add the Presbyters to the Bishop, who also presided with him, as we shall more fully shew in another place. Now the same that presided in Church-Consistories, the same also ordained; Presbyters as well as Bishops presided in Church-Consistories; therefore Presbyters as well as Bishops Ordained. And as in those Churches where there were Presbyters, both they and the Bishop presided together, so also they Ordained together, both laying on their Hands in Ordination, as St. Timothy was Ordained ' by

the laying on of the Hands of the Presbytery; that is, by

Μετὰ ἐπιθέσεως τῶν  
χειρῶν τῶν πρεσβυτέρων.  
I Tim. 4. 14.

the Hands of the Bishop and Presbyters of that Parish where he was Ordained, as is the constant signification of the word *Presbytery*, in all the Writings of the Ancients. But,

10. Though as to every particular act of the Bishop's Office, it could not be proved particularly, that a Presbyter did

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discharge them; yet it would be sufficient, if we could prove, that in the general, a Presbyter could, and did perform them all. Now that a Presbyter could do so, and consequently by the Bishop's permission did do so, will appear from the Example of the great Saint Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, who being exil'd from his Church; writes a Letter to the Clergy thereof; wherein he exhorts

<sup>1</sup> Fungamini illic & vestris partibus ac meis, ut nihil vel ad disciplinam, vel ad diligentiam desit. *Epist. 5. § 1. p. 15.*

gence. And much to thus writes them in another Letter,

<sup>2</sup> Fretus ergo & dilectione & religione vestra, quam satis novi, his literis & hortor, & mando, ut vos-- vice mea fungamini circa gerenda ea, quæ administratio religiosa deposcit. *Epist. 6. § 2. p. 17.*

which the Ecclesiastical Dispensation requires. And in a Letter written upon the same Occasion, by the Clergy of the Church

and begs them <sup>1</sup> to discharge their own and his Office too, that so nothing might be wanting either to Discipline or Diligence. And much to the same Effect he <sup>2</sup> Trusting therefore to your Kindness and Religion, which I have abundantly experienced, I exhort and command you by these Letters, that in my stead you perform those Offices

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of Rome, to the Clergy of the Church of Carthage, we find these Words towards the beginning

thereof, *And since it is incumbent upon us, who are as it were Bishops, to keep the Flock in the room of the Pastor. If we shall be found negligent, it shall be said unto us, as it was said to our careless preceding Bishops, in Ezekiel 34. 3, 4. That we looked not after that which was lost, we did not correct him that*

*wandered, nor bound up him that was lame, but we did eat their Milk, and were covered with their Wool. So that the Presbyters were as it were Bishops, that in the Bishops Absence kept his Flock, and in his stead performed all those Ecclesiastical Offices, which were incumbent on him.*

Now then if the Presbyters could supply the Place of an Absent Bishop, and in general discharge all those Offices, to which a Bishop had been obliged, if he

*Et cum incumbat nobis qui videmur præpositi esse, & vice pastoris custodire gregem, si negligentes inveniamur, dicetur nobis quod & antecessoribus nostris dictum est, qui tam negligentes præpositi erant: quoniam perditum non requisivimus, & errantem non correximus, & claudum non colligavimus, & lacte eorum edebamus, & lanis eorum operiebamur. Apud Cyprian. Epist. 3. § 1. p. 11.*



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had been present; it naturally follows that the Presbyters could discharge every particular Act and Part thereof. If I should say, such an one has all the Senses of a Man, and yet also assert that he cannot see, I should be judged a Self-contradictor in that Assertion; for in affirming that he had all the Humane Senses, I also affirmed, that he saw, because Seeing is one of those Senses. For whatsoever is affirmed of an Universal, is affirmed of every one of its Particulars. So when the Fathers say, that the Presbyters performed the whole Office of the Bishop, it naturally ensues, that they Confirmed, Ordained, Baptized, &c. because those are Particulars of that Universal.

But now from the whole we may collect a solid Argument for the Equality of Presbyters with Bishops as to Order; for if a Presbyter did all a Bishop did, what difference was there between them? A Bishop preached, baptized and confirmed, so did a Presbyter. A Bishop excommunicated, absolved and ordained, so did a Presbyter: Whatever a Bishop did, the same did a Presbyter; the particular Acts of their Office was the same; the only difference that was between them

was

was in Degree, but this proves there was none at all in Order.

2. That Bishops and Presbyters were of the same Order, appears also; from that originally they had one and the same Name, each of them being indifferently called Bishops or Presbyters. Hence we read in the Sacred Writ of several Bishops in one particular Church, as the

<sup>1</sup> Bishops of Ephesus,

and <sup>2</sup> Philippi, that is,

the Bishops and Presbyters of those

Churches, as they

were afterwards distinctly called. And *Clemens Romanus* sometimes mentions many Bishops in the Church of *Corinth*, whom at other times he calls by the Name of Presbyters, using those two Terms as Synonymous Titles and Appellations,

<sup>3</sup> You have obeyed, faith he, those that were set over you,

τοῖς ἡγεμένοις ὑμῶν,

and <sup>4</sup> Let us revere

those that are set over

us, τοῖς ἡγεμένοις ἡμῶν, which are the usual Titles of the Bishops; and yet these in another place he

calls <sup>5</sup> Presbyters, de-

<sup>1</sup> Ἐπισκόπους. 20 *Actor.*  
v. 28.

<sup>2</sup> Ἐπισκόποις, 1 *Phil.*  
I.

<sup>3</sup> *Epist.* 1. *ad Corinth.*  
p. 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibidem.* p. 30.

<sup>5</sup> Πρεσβύτεροι. *Ibid.* p. 62.

scribing

\* Καθεσθαιμένων πρεσ-  
βυτέρων, *Ibid.* p. 69.

• ὑποτάγντε τοῖς  
πρεσβυτέροις. *Ibid.* p.  
73.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 58.

scribing their Office,  
by <sup>1</sup> *their sitting, or*  
*presiding over us.*  
Wherefore he com-  
mands the *Corinthi-*  
*ans* <sup>2</sup> *to be subject to*  
*their Presbyters*, and  
whom in one Line  
he calls <sup>3</sup> ἐπισκοποι, or  
Bishops. The second Line after he calls  
πρεσβύτεροι, or Presbyters. So Polycarp  
exhorts the *Philippians to be subject to*  
*their Presbyters and Deacons*, under the  
name of Presbyters including both Bish-  
ops and Priests, as we now call them.

The first that expressed these Church-  
Officers by the distinct Terms of Bishops  
and Presbyters, was *Ignatius*, who lived  
in the beginning of the Second Century,  
appropriating the Title of Bishop, ἐπι-  
σκοπος, or Overseer, to that Minister who  
was the more immediate Overseer and  
Governor of his Parish; and that of  
πρεσβύτερος, Elder or Presbyter, to him  
who had no particular Care and Inspe-  
ction of a Parish, but was only an Assi-  
stant or Curate to a Bishop that had; the  
word ἐπίσκοπος, or Bishop, denoting a  
Relation to a Flock or Cure, πρεσβύτερος,  
or Presbyter, signifying only a Power or  
an



an ability to take the Charge of such a Flock or Cure; the former implying an actual discharge of the Office, the latter a Power so to do.

This Distinction of Titles arising from the difference of their Circumstances, which we find first mentioned in *Ignatius*, was generally followed by the succeeding Fathers, who for the most part distinguish between Bishops and Presbyters; though sometimes according to the Primitive Usage they indifferently apply those Terms to each of those Persons.

Thus on the one hand the Titles of Presbyters are given unto Bishops; as *Irenaeus* in his Synodical Epistle, twice calls *Anicetus*, *Pius*, *Higynus*, *Telesphorus*, and *Xistus* Bishops of Rome, <sup>1</sup> πρεσβύτεροι,

or Presbyters. And

those <sup>2</sup> Bishops who derived their Succession immediately from the Apostles, he calls, the Presbyters in the

Church; and whom *Clemens Alexandrinus* in one Line calls the Bishop of a certain City not far from *Ephesus*, a few Lines after he calls

the Presbyter.

<sup>1</sup> Apud Euseb. lib. 5.

cap. 24. p. 193.

<sup>2</sup> Qui in ecclesiâ sunt Presbyteri—qui cum episcopatus successione, &c. lib. 4. cap. 43. p. 277.

<sup>3</sup> πρεσβύτερος. Apud Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 24. p.

And

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And on the other hand, the Titles of Bishops are ascribed to Presbyters, as one of the Discretive Appellations of a Bishop is Pastour. Yet *Cyprian* also calls his

Presbyters <sup>1</sup> *the Pastors of the Flock*. Another was that of President, or one

set over the People. Yet *Cyprian* also calls his Presbyters

<sup>2</sup> *Præpositi*. *Ibidem*. <sup>2</sup> *Presidents*, or set over the people. The

Bishops were also called Rectors or Rulers. So *Origen* calls

the Presbyters <sup>3</sup> *the Governours of the people*. And we find

both Bishops and Presbyters included under the common Name of Presidents or Prelates, by St. *Cyprian*, in this his

Exhortation to *Pomponius*, <sup>4</sup> *And if all*

*must observe the Divine Discipline, how much more must the*

*Presidents and Deacons do it, who by*

*their Conversation and Manners must yield a*

*good Example to others?*

Now

<sup>1</sup> Pastores ovium. *Epist.*  
11. § 1. p. 33.

<sup>2</sup> Præpositi. *Ibidem*.

<sup>3</sup> Ἀρχοὺς τῆς λαῆς.  
Comment. in Math. Vol.  
1. p. 246.

<sup>4</sup> Et cum omnes omnino disciplinam tenere oporteat, multò magis Præpositos & Diaconos curare hoc fas est, qui exemplum & documentum cæteris de conversatione & moribus suis præbeant. *Epist.* 62. § 2. p. 169.

Now if the same Appellation of a thing be a good Proof for the Identity of its Nature, then Bishops and Presbyters must be of the same Order, because they had the same Names and Titles. Suppose it was disputed, whether a Parson and Lecturer were of the same Order, would not this sufficiently prove the Affirmative? That though for some Accidental Respects they might be distinguished in their Appellations, yet originally and frequently they were called by one and the same Name. The same it is in this Case, though for some contingent and adventitious Reasons Bishops and Presbyters were discriminated in their Titles, yet originally they were always, and afterwards sometimes, called by one and the same Appellation; and therefore we may justly deem them to be one and the same Order.

But if this Reason be not thought cogent enough, the Third and last will unquestionably put all out of doubt, and most clearly Evince the Identity or Sameness of Bishops and Presbyters, as to Order; and that is, that it is expressly said by the Ancients, That there were but two distinct Ecclesiastical Orders, *viz.* Bishops and Deacons, or Presbyters and Deacons;



Deacons; and if there were but two, Presbyters cannot be distinct from Bishops, for then there would be three. Now that there were but two Orders, viz. Bishops and Deacons, is plain from that Golden Ancient Remembrance of *Clemens Romanus*, wherein he writes, <sup>1</sup> *In the Country and Cities where the Apostles preached, they ordained their Converts for Bishops and Deacons, or those who should believe: Nor were these Orders new; for many Ages past it was thus prophesied concerning Bishops and Deacons, I will*

Ἰ Κατὰ χρόνον δὲ καὶ πό-  
λεις κηρύσσοντες καθίστα-  
νον τὰς ἀπαρχὰς αὐ-  
τῶν εἰς ἐπισκόπους καὶ δι-  
ακόνους ἵνα πολλῶν  
πιστεύειν καὶ τέτοις κα-  
νόνες γὰρ ἐν πολλῶν  
χρόνοις ἐγγράφητο καὶ  
ἐπισκόπων καὶ διακόνων,  
ὥτως γὰρ πάλαι λέγει ἡ  
γραφὴ, κατισχύσω τὰς  
ἐπισκόπους αὐτῶν ἐν δι-  
καιοσύνῃ καὶ τὰς διακό-  
νους αὐτῶν ἐν πίστει. E-  
pist. i. ad Corinth. p. 54.

point their Bishops

*Righteousness, and their Deacons in Faith.* This place of Scripture which is here quoted, is in *Isa. 60. 17. I will make thee Officers peace, and thine Exactors righteousness.* Whether it is rightly applied, is not my business to determine. That this I observe from hence is, that there were but two Orders instituted by the Apostles, viz. Bishops and Deacons, which

*Cleme*

*Clemens* supposes were prophetically promised long before: And this is yet more evidently asserted in another Passage of the said *Clemens* a little after, where he says, that the Apostles foreknew through our Lord Lord Jesus Christ, that Contention would arise about the Name of Episcopacy, and therefore being endued with a perfect foreknowledge, appointed the aforesaid Officers, viz. Bishops and Deacons, and left the manner of their Succession described, that so when they died, other approved men might succeed them, and reform their Office. So that there were only the Two Orders of Bishops and Deacons instituted by the Apostles. And if they ordained but those Two, I think no one had ever a Commission to add a Third, or to split One into Two, as must be done, if we separate the Order of Presbyters from the Order of Bishops: But that when the Apostles appointed the Order of

Ἀπόστολοι ἡμῶν  
ἐγνώσαν διὰ τῆς κρείας  
ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὅτι  
ἔσται ὁπὶ τῆς ὀνόμα-  
τος τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς, διὰ  
ταύτην ἐν τῷ αἵτιον  
ἀνέγνωσαν εἰληρότες  
τελείαν κατέστησαν τὰς  
ἐξουσίας, καὶ με-  
ταξὺ ἐπινομὴν δέδωκα-  
σιν, ὅπως εἰς κοιμηθῶ-  
σιν, διαδέξωνται ἑτέρω  
δεδοκιμασμένοι ἄνδρες  
τὴν λειτουργίαν αὐτῶν.  
Ibidem, p. 57.



of Bishops, Presbyters were included therein, will manifestly appear from the Induction of those fore-cited Passages in *Clemens's* Epistle, and his drift and design thereby, which was to appease and calm the Schisms and Factions of some unruly Members in the Church of *Corinth*, who designed to depose their Presbyters, ; and that he might dissuade them from this violent and irregular Action, amongst other Arguments he proposes to them, that this was to thwart the Design and Will of God, who would that all should live orderly in their respective places, doing the Duties of their own Stations, not invading the Offices and Functions of others ; and that for this end, that all occasions of disorderliness and confusion might be prevented, he had Instituted Diversities of Offices in his Church, appointing every Man to his particular Work, to which he was to apply himself, without violently leaping into other Mens places ; and that particularly the Apostles foreseeing through the Holy Spirit, that Contentions and unruly Men would irregularly aspire to the Episcopal Office, by the Deposition of their lawful Presbyters ; therefore that such turbulent Spirits might be repressed,



repressed, or left inexcusable, they ordained Bishops and Deacons where they preached, and described the manner and qualifications of their Successors, who should come after them when they were dead and gone, and be rever'd and obeyed with the same Respect and Obedience as they before were; and that therefore they were to be condemned as Perverters of the Divine Institution, and Contemners of the Apostolick Authority, who dared to degrade their Presbyters, who had received their Episcopal Authority in an immediate Succession from those who were advanced to that Dignity by the Apostles themselves.

This was the true Reason for which the fore-quoted Passages were spoken, which clearly evinces, that Presbyters were included under the Title of Bishops, or rather that they were Bishops: For to what end should *Clemens* exhort the Schismatical *Corinthians* to obey their Presbyters, from the consideration of the Apostles Ordination of Bishops, if their Presbyters had not been Bishops?

But that the Order of Presbyters was the same with the Order of Bishops, will appear also from that place of *Irenaeus*,  
H where

<sup>1</sup> Presbyteri qui serviunt suis voluptatibus, & non præponunt timorem Dei in cordibus suis, sed contumeliis agunt reliquos, & principalis confessionis tumore elati sunt.— ab omnibus igitur talibus assistere oportet, adhærere vero his, qui & Apostolorum sicut prædiximus, doctrinam custodiunt, & cum Presbyterii Ordine Sermonem sanum, & Conversationem sine offensâ præstant ad informationem & correctionem reliquorum.— Tales Presbyteros nutrit Ecclesia, de quibus & Propheta ait, & dabo principes tuos in pace, & Episcopos tuos in iustitia. *Lib. 4. c. 44. p. 278.*

*saith, I will give thee Princes in Peace, and Bishops in Righteousness.* Now that by these Presbyters, Bishops are meant, need not take much pains to prove; the precedent Chapter positively asserts it; the Description of them in this Quotation, by their enjoying the Dignity

where he exhorts us  
<sup>1</sup> to withdraw from those Presbyters, who serve their Lusts, and having not the fear of God in their hearts, condemn others, and are lifted up with the Dignity of their first Session; but to adhere to those who keep the Doctrine of the Apostles, and with their Presbyterial Order are inoffensive, and exemplary in sound Doctrine, and an holy Conversation, to the Information and Correction of others; for such Presbyters the Church educates, and of whom the Prophet

of the first Session, and the application of that Text of *Isaiab* unto them, clearly evinces it. No one can deny but that there were Bishops, that is, that they were superiour in degree to other Presbyters; or, as *Irenæus* styles it, honoured with the first Session; but yet he also says, that they were not different in Order, being of the Presbyterial Order, which includes both Bishops and Presbyters.

To this Testimony of *Irenæus* I shall subjoin that of *Clemens Alexandrinus*, who tho he menti-

ons<sup>1</sup> the *Processess* of Bishops, Presbyters and Deacons, from which some conclude the Bishops Superiority of Order; yet the subsequent Words evidently declare, that it must be meant only of Degree, and

Ἐπεὶ καὶ αἱ ἐνταῦθα  
καὶ τῶ ἐκκλησίᾳ πρε-  
κοπαὶ ἐπισκόπων, πρε-  
βυτέρων, διακόνων, μι-  
μήματα δοῖμαι ἀγγελι-  
κῆς δόξης, καὶ κείνης  
τῆς οἰκονομίας τυγχάνου-  
σιν ὡς ἀναμένειν φασὶν  
αἱ γεγραφαὶ τὰς κατ'  
ἰχνοῦ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐν  
τελειώσει δικαιοσύνης  
καὶ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον βασι-  
ωκότας, ἐν νεφέλαις  
τέτρες ἀρδέντας γε-  
ραι ὁ ἀπόστολος διακονήσιν μὲν πρῶτα, ἔπει-  
τα ἐνταταγῆναι τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ καὶ πρε-  
βοπὴν δόξης, δόξα γὰρ δόξης διαφέρει ἄλλοις ἂν εἰς  
πλήρον ἀνδρα ἀνξίωσιν. Stromat. lib.6. p. 481.



that as to Order they were one and the same; for he immediately adds, *That those Offices are an imitation of the Angelick Glory, and of that Dispensation, which, as the Scriptures say, they wait for, who treading in the steps of the Apostles, live in the perfection of Evangelick Righteousness; for these, the Apostle writes, shall be took up into the Clouds,* (Here he alludes to the manner of the Saints Glorification in 1 *Theff.* 4. 17. Then we which are alive, and remain, shall be caught up together with them in the Clouds, to meet the Lord in the Air, and so shall we ever be with the Lord) *and there first as Deacons attend, and then according to the Process, or next station of Glory, be admitted into the Presbytery; for Glory differs from Glory, till they increase to a perfect man.* Now in this Passage there are two things which manifest, that there were but two Ecclesiastical Orders, *viz.* Bishops and Deacons, or Presbyters and Deacons; the first is, that he says, that those Orders were resembled by the Angelick Orders. Now the Scripture mentions but two Orders of Angels, *viz.* Archangels and Angels, the Archangels presiding over the Angels, and the Angels obeying and attending on the Archangels. Ac-

cording

cording to this resemblance therefore there must be but Two Ecclesiastical Orders in the Church, which are Bishops or Presbyters presiding and governing, with the Deacons attending and obeying. The other part of this Passage, which proves but two Ecclesiastical Orders, is his likening of them to the progressive Glory of the Saints, who at the Judgment Day shall be caught up in the Clouds, and there shall first as Deacons attend and wait on Christ's Judgment-Seat, and then, when the Judgment is over, shall have their Glory perfected, in being placed on the Celestial Thrones of that Sublime Presbytery, where they shall for ever be blest and happy.

So that there were only the two Orders of Deacons and Presbyters, the former whereof being the inferiour Order, never sat at their Ecclesiastical Conventions, but like Servants stood and waited on the latter, who sat down on *ἑσέροι*, or Seats in the form of a Semi-circle, whence they are frequently called *Confessus Presby-*

<sup>1</sup> Videt & ordinationes, five stationes ministrorum ejus, Diaconorum, ut mihi videtur, ordinem memorat astantium divino ministerio. *Homil. 2. in Cantic. Cantic. Origen.*

<sup>2</sup> Nobiscum sedeat in Clero. *Cyprian. Epist. 35.*

2. 84.  
 H 3

*teriz*



terii, Or the Session of the Presbytery, in which Session he that was more peculiarly the Bishop or Minister of the Parish, sat at the Head of the Semicircle, on a Seat somewhat elevated above those

of his <sup>1</sup> Colleagues,

<sup>1</sup> Collegis meis. *Epist.*

28. § 2. p. 64.

as Cyprian calls them, and so was distinguished from

them by his Priority in the same Order, but not by his being of another Order. Thus the foresaid *Clemens Alexandrinus* distinguishes the Bishop from the Presbyters, by his being advanced to the *πρωτοκαθέδεια*, or the first Seat in the Presbytery, not by his sitting in a different

Seat from them:

<sup>2</sup> Οὗτος πρεσβύτερος ἐστὶ πρὸ ὄντος τῆς ἐκκλησίας, καὶ διακόνος ἀληθῆς τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ βασιλείας, εἰς τὴν ποιεῖ καὶ διδάσκει τὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἔχοντες ἀνδρώπων χειροτονούμενος καὶ ὁ πρεσβύτερος, δικαιοσύνην καὶ ἀλλ' ὅτι δικαιοσύνη, ἐν πρεσβυτερίᾳ καταλεγόμενος, καὶ ἐν ταῦτα ὅτι τῆς περτοκαθέδρας μὴ πικρῆς, ἐν τοῖς ἑκαστοῖς καὶ τέσσαρσι καθεδεύεται θρόνοις ἢ λαόν κείνων, ὡς φησὶν ἐν τῇ Ἀποκαλύψει Ἰωάννης

For thus he writes,

<sup>2</sup> He is in truth a Presbyter of the Church, and a Minister of the Will of God, who does and teaches the things of the Lord, not ordained by Men, or esteemed just, because a Presbyter,

Stromat. lib. 6. p. 480.



but because just, therefore received into the Presbytery, who although he be not honoured with the first Seat on Earth, yet shall hereafter sit down on the Twenty and Four Thrones, mentioned in the Revelations, judging the People. So that both Bishops and Presbyters were Members of the same Presbytery, only the Bishop was advanced to the first and chiefest Seat therein, which is the very same with what I come now from proving, viz. That Bishops and Presbyters were Equal in Order, but Different in Degree; That the former were the Ministers of their respective Parishes, and the latter their Curates or Assistants.

Whether this hath been fully proved, or whether the precedent Quotations do naturally conclude the Premises, the Learned Reader will easily determin. I am not conscious that I have stretched any Words beyond their natural Signification, having deduced from them nothing but what they fairly imported: If I am mistaken, I hope I shall be pardoned, since I did it not designedly or voluntarily. As before, so now I profess again, that if any one shall be so kind and obliging to give me better Information, I shall thankfully and willingly acknowledge

H +

ledge

ledge and quit mine Error ; but till that Information be given, and the falsity of my present Opinion be evinc'd, ( which after the impartiallest and narrowest Enquiry I see not how it can be done ) I hope no one will be offended, that I have asserted the Equality or Identity of the Bishops and Presbyters as to Order, and their difference as to Preeminency or Degree.

§ 4. Now from this Notion of Presbyters, there evidently results the Reason why there were many of them in one Church , even for the same Intent and End , though more necessary and needful, that Curates are now to those Ministers and Incumbents whom they serve, it was found by Experience that variety of Accidents and Circumstances did frequently occur both in times of Peace and Persecution ; the Particulars whercof would be needless to enumerate, that disabled the Bishops from attending on, and discharging their Pastoral Office ; therefore that such Vacancies might be supplied, and such Inconveniencies remedied, they entertained Presbyters or Curates, who during their Absence might supply their Places,  
who

who also were helpful to them, whilst they were present with their Flocks, to counsel and advise them; whence Bishop *Cyprian* assures us, that he did all things by the

<sup>1</sup> *Common Council* of his Presbyters.

<sup>1</sup> *Communi Consilio.*  
*Epist.* 24. p. 55.

Besides this, in those early days of Christianity, Churches were in most places thin, and at a great distance from one another; so that if a Bishop by any Disaster was Incapacitated for the Discharge of his Function, it would be very difficult to get a neighbouring Bishop to assist him. To which we may also add, that in those times there were no publick Schools or Universities, except we say the Catechetick Lecture at *Alexandria* was one for the breeding of young Ministers, who might succeed the Bishops as they died; wherefore the Bishops of every Church took care to instruct and elevate some young Men, who might be prepared to come in their place when they were dead and gone. And thus for these and the like Reasons most Churches were furnished with a competent number of Presbyters, who helpt the Bishops while living, and were fitted to succeed them when dead.



§ 5. I say only, most Churches were furnished with Presbyters, because all were not, especially those Churches which were newly planted, where either the Numbers or Abilities of the Believers were small and inconsiderable : Neither indeed were Presbyters Essential to the Constitution of a Church; a Church might be without them, as well as a Parish can be without a Curate now; it was sufficient that they had a Bishop; a Presbyter was only necessary for the easing of the Bishop in his Office, and to be qualified for the succeeding him in his Place and Dignity after his Death.

<sup>1</sup> Ubi Ecclesiastici Ordinis non est confessus, & offert, & ringit Sacerdos, qui est ibi solus. *Exhort. ad Castitat. p. 457.*

For as *Tertullian* writes, <sup>1</sup> *Where there are no Presbyters, the Bishop alone administers the two Sacraments of the Lord's Supper and Baptism.*

§ 6. As for the time when Presbyters began, to me it seems plain, that their Office was even in the Apostolick Age, though by their Names they were not distinguished from Bishops till sometimes after. The first Author now extant, who distinctly

distinctly mentions Bishops and Presbyters, is *Ignatius* Bishop of *Antioch*, who lived in the beginning of the Second Century : But without doubt before his time, even in the days of the Apostles, where Churches increased, or were somewhat large, there were more in Holy Orders than the Bishops of those Churches. We read in the new Testament of the Bishops of <sup>1</sup> *E-*

*phesus* and <sup>2</sup> *Philippi*,

<sup>1</sup> Acts 20. 28.

which must be un-

<sup>2</sup> Philip. 1. 1.

derstood of what was

afterwards distinctly called Bishops and Presbyters. So likewise we read in *St. Ti-*

*mothy* of a <sup>3</sup> Presby-

<sup>3</sup> 1 Tim. 4. 14.

tery, which in all

the Writings of the Fathers, for any

thing I can find to the contrary, perpe-

tually signifies the Bishop and Presbyters

of a Particular Church or Parish. And

to this we may add what *Clemens Alex-*

*andrinus* Reports of *St. John*, that he

he went into the neighbouring Provinces

of *Ephesus*, <sup>4</sup> Partly

that he might consti-

stute Bishops, partly

that he might plant

<sup>4</sup> Ὅτε μὲν ἐπισκόπους κα-  
ταστήσων, ὅτε δὲ ὅλας ἐκ-  
κλησίας ἀρμόσων, ὅτε  
δὲ κλήρω ἑναγέ πνα κλη-  
ράσων τῷ ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύμα-

70 σημαινόμενα.

Apud Euseb. lib. 3. cap. 23.

p. 92.

new

*new Churches, and partly that he might appoint such in the number of the Clergy, as should be commanded him by the Holy Ghost. Where by the Word Clergy, being oppos'd to Bishops, and so consequently different from them, must be understood either Deacons alone, or which is far more probable, Presbyters and Deacons.*

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CHAP:



## CHAP. V.

§ 1. The Order and Office of the Deacons.  
 § 2. Subdeacons what? § 3. Of Acolyths, Exorcists, and Lectors; through those Offices the Bishops gradually ascended to their Episcopal Dignity. § 4. Of Ordination. First, Of Deacons. § 5. Next of Presbyters; the Candidates for that Office presented themselves to the Presbytery of the Parish where they were Ordained. § 6. By them examined about Four Qualifications, viz. Their Age. § 7. Their Condition in the World. § 8. Their Conversation. § 9. And their Understanding. Humane Learning needful. § 10. Some Inveighed against Humane Learning, but condemned by Clemens Alexandrinus. § 11. Those that were to be Ordain'd Presbyters, generally pass'd through the Inferiour Offices. § 12. When to be ordained, propounded to the People for their Attestation. § 13. Ordain'd in, but not to a particular Church. § 14. Ordain'd by the Imposition of Hands of the Presbytery. § 15. The Conclusion of the first Particular, concerning the Peculiar Acts of the Clergy.

§ 1. Next

§ 1. **N**Ext to the Presbyters were the Deacons, concerning whose Office and Order I shall say very little, since there is no great Controversie about it; and had it not been to have rendred this Discourse compleat and entire, I should in silence have pass'd it over. Briefly therefore, their original Institution, as in *Acts* 6. 2. was to *serve Tables*, which included these two things, A looking after the Poor, and an attendance at the Lords Table. As for the Care of

<sup>1</sup> Διάκονοι διοικούντες τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας χρήματα. Comment. in Mat. Tom. 16. p. 443. Vol. 1.

the Poor, *Origen* tells us, that the <sup>1</sup> *Deacons dispensed to them the Churches Mony*, being employed under the

Bishop to inspect and relieve all the Indigent within their Diocess: As for their Attendance at the Lords Table, their Office with respect to that consisted in preparing the Bread and Wine, in cleansing the Sacramental Cups, and other such like necessary things; whence they

<sup>2</sup> Ἐρωμάτων καὶ ποτῶν εἰσιν διάκονοι. Epist. ad Tralles p. 48.

are called by *Ignatius* <sup>2</sup> *Deacons of Meats and Cups*, assisting also, in some places at least, the Bishop.

Bishop or Presbyters in the Celebration of the Eucharist,

<sup>1</sup> delivering the Elements to the Communicants. They also preach, of which more in another place; and in the

<sup>2</sup> Absence of the Bishop and Presbyters baptized. In a word, according to the sig-

nification of their Name, they were as Ignatius calls them,

<sup>3</sup> the Churches Servants, set apart on purpose to serve God, and attend on their Business, being constituted, as Eusebius terms it, <sup>4</sup> for the Service of the Publick,

<sup>2</sup> Διάκονοι διδόντες ἐκείνῳ τῷ παρόντων μεταλαβεῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀ-  
χαιεύοντος ἁγίου καὶ  
οἴνου. Just. Martyr. Apo-  
log. 2. p. 97.

<sup>2</sup> Baptismum dandi  
habet jus Episcopus de-  
hinc Presbyteri & Dia-  
coni. Tertul. de Bapt.  
p. 602.

<sup>3</sup> Ἑκκλησίας Θεοῦ.  
ἐπηρέται. Epist. ad  
Tralles. p. 48.

<sup>4</sup> Ὑποδιακόνες τοῦ κοινῆς  
Lib. 2. cap. 1. p. 38.

§ 2. Next to the Deacons were the Subdeacons, who are mentioned both by

<sup>5</sup> Cyprian and <sup>6</sup> Cornelius. As the Office of the Presbyters was to assist and help the Bishops, so theirs

<sup>5</sup> Hypodiaconum Op-  
tatum. Epist. 24. p. 55.

<sup>6</sup> Ὑποδιακόνες ἐπὶ τῷ  
Apud Euseb. lib. 6. cap.  
43 p. 244



was to assist and help the Deacons. And as the Presbyters were of the same Order with the Bishop, so probably the Subdeacons were of the same Order with the Deacons, which may be gathered from what we may suppose to have been the Origin and Rise of these Subdeacons, which might be this, That in no Church whatsoever was it usual to have more than Seven Deacons, because that was the original Number instituted by the Apostles; wherefore when any Church grew so great and numerous, that this stinted Number of Deacons was not sufficient to discharge their necessary Ministrations, that they might not seem to swerve from the Apostolical Example, they added Assistants to the Deacons, whom they called Subdeacons or Under Deacons, who were employed by the Head or Chief Deacons to do those Services in their stead and room, to which by their Office they were obliged. But whether this be a sufficient Argument to prove the Subdeacons to be of the same Order with the Deacons, I shall not determine, because this Office being now antiquated, it is not very pertinent to my Design; I only offer it to the Consideration

deration of the Learned, who have Will and Ability to search into it.

§ 3. Besides those forementioned Orders, who were immediately consecrated to the Service of God, and by him commission'd thereunto, there were another sort of Ecclesiasticks, who were employed about the meaner Offices of the Church, such as <sup>1</sup> *Acolyths*, <sup>2</sup> *Exorcists* and

<sup>3</sup> *Lectors*, whose Offices, because they are now disused, except that of the Lector, I shall pass over in silence, re-

serving a Discourse of the Lector for another place; only in general, these were Candidates for the Ministry, who by the due discharge of these meaner Employments, were to give Proof of their Ability and Integrity, the Bishops in those days not usually arriving *per Saltum* to that Dignity and Honour; but commonly beginning with the most inferiour Office, and so gradually proceeding through the others, till they came to the supreme Office of all, as *Cornelius* Bishop of

<sup>1</sup> *Naricum Acoluthum.*  
*Cyprian. Epist. 36. p. 87.*

<sup>2</sup> *Unus de exorcistis vir probatus. Firmil. apud Cypr. Ep. 75. § 10. p. 238.*

<sup>3</sup> *Hos lectores constitutos. Cypr. Ep. 34. § 4. p. 81.*

<sup>3</sup> Non iste ad Episcopatum subito pervenit, per omnia ecclesiastica officia promotus—ad Sacerdotii sublime fastigium cunctis Religionis gradibus ascendit. *Cyprian. Epist. 52. § 4. p. 115.*

*Rome* <sup>3</sup> Did not presently leap into the Episcopal Throne, but first passed through all the Ecclesiastical Offices, gradually ascending to that Sublime Dignity. The Church

in those happy days by such a long Trial and Experience, using all possible Precaution and Exactness, that none but fit and qualified Men should be admitted into those Sacred Functions and Orders, which were attended with so dreadful and tremendous a Charge. And this now brings me in the next place, to enquire into the Manner and Form of the Primitive Ordinations, which I chuse to discourse of in this place, since I shall find none more proper for it throughout this whole Treatise.

§ 4. As for the various Senses and Acceptations which may be put on the Word *Ordination*, I shall not at all meddle with them; that Ordination that I shall speak of is this, The Grant of a Peculiar Commission and Power, which remains indelible in the Person to whom it is committed, and can never be obliterated or rased out, except the Person himself



himself cause it by his Heresie, Apostacy, or most extremely gross and scandalous Impiety. Now this sort of Ordination was conferred only upon Deacons and Presbyters, or on Deacons and Bishops, Presbyters and Bishops being here to be consider'd as all one, as Ministers of the Church-Universal. As for the Ordination of Deacons, there is no great Dispute about that, so I shall say no more concerning it, than that we have the manner thereof at their first Institution in *Acts* 6.6. which was, that they were Ordained to their Office by Prayer and Imposition of Hands.

§ 5. But as for the Ordination of Presbyters, I shall more distinctly and largely treat of the Manner and Form thereof, which seems to be as follows.

Whosoever desired to be admitted into this Sacred Office, he first proposed himself to the Presbytery of the Parish where he dwelled and was to be Ordained, desiring their Consent to his designed Intention, praying them to confer upon him those Holy Orders which he craved. Now we may suppose his Petition was to the whole Presbytery, because a Bishop alone could not give those Holy Orders,

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as is most evident from *Cyprian*, who assures us, that <sup>1</sup> all

<sup>1</sup> Communi Consilio omnium nostrum. *Epist.* 24. p. 55.

the whole Presbytery.

<sup>2</sup> Necesse fuit—— necessitate urgente promotum est. *Ibidem*.

but a Lector without the Advice and Consent of his Presbytery, which one would be apt to think was no great U-

<sup>3</sup> *Epist.* 24. p. 55.

furpation, he takes great pains to <sup>3</sup> justify and excuse himself for so doing.

§ 6. Upon this Application of the Candidate for the Ministry, the Presbytery took it into their Consideration, debated his Petition

<sup>4</sup> Communi Consilio. *Epist.* 24. apud *Cyp.* p. 55.

<sup>4</sup> in their Common Council, and proceeded to examine whether he had those Endowments and Qualifications which were requisite for that Sacred Office. What those Gifts and Qualifications were, touching which he was examined, may be reduced to these

these Four Heads, his Age, his Condition in the World, his Conversation; and his Understanding.

As for his Age; It was necessary for him to have lived some time in the World, to have been of a ripe and mature Age; for they ordained no Novices, or young Striplings: That was the Practice of the Hereticks whom *Tertullian* jeers and upbraids with Ordaining

<sup>1</sup> *Raw and Unex-*  
*perienced Clerks.* But

as for the Ortho-

dox, they took care to confer Orders on none, but on such as were well stricken in years; observing herein the Apostolick Canon in *1 Tim.*

*3.6. Not a Novice, lest being lifted up with Pride, he fall into the Condemnation of the Devil.* But yet if any young Man was

endued with extraordinary Grace and Ability, the fewness of his Years was no

Obstacle to his Promotion, that being superseded by the Greatness of his Merit; as we find in the case of *Aurelius*

in *Cyprian*, who tho

<sup>2</sup> *young in years*, yet

for his eminent

Courage and <sup>3</sup> Ex-

cellency

<sup>1</sup> Nunc Neophytos  
conlocant. *De præscript.*  
*adv. Heret.* p. 89.

<sup>2</sup> In annis adhuc novel-  
lus. *Cypr. Epist.* 33. p. 76.

<sup>3</sup> Merebatur — Cleri-  
cæ Ordinationis — gra-  
dus & incrementa — non

de annis suis, sed de meritis æstimandus. *Ibidem.*



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cellency was graced with Ecclesiastical Orders: And such an one, I suppose, was the Bishop of *Magnesia* in the times of *Ignatius*, which gave occasion to that

<sup>1</sup> Μὴ συγχεᾶσθαι τῇ  
ἡλικίᾳ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ἀλ-  
λὰ— πᾶσαν ἐν τερπῶ  
αὐτοῦ σπονέμεν. *Ignat.*  
*Epist. ad Magn. f. p. 31.*

Exhortation, to the People of that Dio-  
cesis, <sup>1</sup> not to despise  
their Bishops Age, but  
to yield him all due Re-  
spect and Reverence.

§ 7. As for his Condition in the World; he was not to be entangled with any mundane Affairs, but to be free from all secular Employments, and at perfect Liberty to apply himself wholly to the Duties of his Office and Function. This also was founded on that other A-

<sup>2</sup> Nemo militans Deo  
obligat se molestiis Sæ-  
cularibus, ut possit pla-  
cere ei cui se probavit.  
Quod cum de omnibus  
dictum sit, quantò ma-  
gis molestiis & laqueis  
Sæcularibus obligari  
non debent, qui divinis  
rebus & spiritualibus  
occupati, ab Ecclesia re-  
cedere, & ad terrenos  
& sæculares actus vacare  
non possunt, cujus or-

postolick Canon in  
*2 Tim. 2. 4.* <sup>2</sup> No  
man that warreth, en-  
tangleth himself with  
the affairs of this  
life, that he may please  
him who hath chosen  
him to be a Soldier.  
Which Words, saith  
*Cyprian*, if spoken of  
all, How much more  
ought not they to be  
entangled

entangled with Secular Troubles and Snares, who being busied in Divine and Spiritual things, cannot leave the Church, to mind earthly and worldly actions? Which Religious Ordination, as he goes on to write, was emblemized by the Levites under the Law; for when the Land was divided, and possessions were given to eleven Tribes, the Levites who waited upon the Temple and Altar, and the Sacred Offices thereof, had no share in that Division; but the others till'd the ground, whilst they only worshipped God, and received Tenths of the others Encrease for

dinationis & religionis formam Levitæ prius in lege tenuerunt, ut cum terram dividerent, & possessiones partirentur undecem Tribus, Levitica Tribus, quæ Templo & Altari, & Ministeriis Divinis vacabat, nihil de illa divisionis portione perciperet, sed aliis terram colentibus, illa tantum Deum coleret, & ad victum atque alimentum suum ab undecem Tribubus de fructibus qui nascebantur, decimas reciperet. Quod totum fiebat de auctoritate & dispositione divinâ, ut qui operationibus divinis insistebant, in nullâ re avocarentur, nec cogitare aut agere sæcularia cogerentur. Quæ nunc ratio & forma in Clero tenetur, ut qui in Ecclesia Domini Ordinatione Clerica promoventur, in nullo ab administratione Divina avocentur, nec molestiis & negotiis sæcularibus alligentur, sed in honore sportulantium fratrum

tanquam Decimas ex fructibus accipientes, ab Altari & Sacrificiis non recedant, sed die ac nocte Cœlestibus rebus & Spiritualibus serviant. *Epist. 66. S. 1, 2.*  
p. 195.

their Food and Sustenance ; all which happened by the Divine Authority and Dispensation, that they who waited on Divine Employments should not be withdrawn therefrom, or be forced either to think of, or to do any Secular Affairs : Which fashion, as he there continues to write, is now observed by the Clergy, that those who are promoted to Clerical Ordinations, should not be impeded in their Divine Administrations, or incumbered with secular Concerns and Affairs, but as Tenths, receiving Subscriptions from the Brethren, depart not from the Altar and Sacrifices, but night and day attend on Spiritual and Heavenly Ministrations. These words were spoken on the occasion of a certain Bishop called *Geminus Victor*, who at his Death made a certain Presbyter called *Geminus Faustinus* Trustee of his last Will and Testament, which Trust *Cyprian* con-

\* Cum jampridem in Consilio Episcoporum statutum sit, ne quis de Clericis & Dei Ministris tutorem vel curatorem testamento suo constituat, quando singuli Divino Sacerdotio honorati, & in Clerico Ministerio constituti, non nisi Altari & Sacrificiis deservire, & precibus atque orationibus vacare debeant. *Idem Ibidem.*

demns as void and null, <sup>1</sup> because a Synod had before decreed, that no Clergyman should be a Trustee, for this Reason, because those who were in Holy Orders ought

only



only to attend upon the Altar and its Sacrifices, and to give themselves wholly to Prayer and Supplication. It was a Blot in the Hereticks Ordinations, that they <sup>1</sup> Ordained such 'as were involved in the World, and embarrassed with Carnal and Secular Concerns.

<sup>1</sup> Nunc Sæculo obstrictos conlocant. *Tertul. de Præscript. adv. Heret.* p. 89.

§ 8. As for the Conversation of the Party to be Ordained, he was to be

<sup>2</sup> humble and meek, of an unspotted and exemplary Life. So says Cyprian, <sup>3</sup> In all Ordinations we ought to choose Men of an unspotted Integrity, who worthily and holily offering up Sacrifices to God, may be heard in those Prayers which they make for the safety of their Flock: For it is written, God heareth not a Sinner; but if any one be a Worshipper of him, and doth his Will, him he heareth.

<sup>2</sup> Humiles & mites. *Cyprian. Epist. 38. § 1. p. 90.*

<sup>3</sup> In Ordinationibus Sacerdotum non nisi immaculatos & integros antistites eligere debemus, qui sancte & digne Sacrificia Deo offerentes, audiri in precibus possint, quas faciunt pro Plebis. *Dominicæ incolumitate, cum scriptum sit, Deus peccatorem non audit, sed si quis Deum coluerit, & voluntatem ejus fecerit, illum audit. Epist. 68. § 2. p. 201.*

Where-

Wherefore before they were Ordained, they were proposed to the People for their Testimony and Attestation of their holy Life and Conversation: But of this we shall speak more in another place: Only it may not be improper to remember here, that this is also an Apostolick Canon, in 1 Tim. 3. 2, 3, 7. *A Bishop then must be Blameless, the Husband of one Wife, vigilant, sober, of good Behaviour, given to hospitality, apt to teach, not given to Wine, no Striker, not guilty of filthy Lucre, but Patient, not a Brawler, not Covetous. Moreover he must have a good report of them which are without, lest he fall into Reproach, and the snare of the Devil.*

§ 9. As for the understanding of the Person to be Ordained, he was to be of a good Capacity, fit and able duly to teach others. This is also another of the Apostolick Canons in 2 Tim. 2. 15. *Study to shew thy self approved unto God, a Workman that needeth not to be ashamed, rightly dividing the Word of Truth.* And in 1 Tim. 3. 2. *A Bishop must be apt to teach,* which implies an Ability of teaching, and a Capacity of rightly understanding, apprehending, and applying the Word of God; to which end Humane Learning was so conducive, as that Origen pleads  
not

not only for its usefulness, but also for its necessity, especially for that part of it, which we call Logick, to find out the true Sense and Meaning of the Scripture, as appears from this following Digression, which he makes concerning it, in one of his Commenta-

ries, *How is it possible, saith he, that a Question either in Ethicks, Physicks, or Divinity should be understood, as it ought, without Logick? You shall hear no Absurdity from those, who are skill'd in Logick, and diligently search out the signification of words; whereas many times through our ignorance in Logick, we greatly err, not distinguishing Homonymies, Amphibolies, the different Usages, Properties and Distinction of Words, as some from the Ignorance of the Homo-*

Ἐι δυνάται ἡθικὸν  
περίβλημα, ἢ φυσιολογί-  
κον, ἢ θεολογικόν  
χωρὶς ἀκριβῆται ση-  
μαινομένων καὶ τῆς κατὰ  
τὸ λογικὸν τῆς τρεῖς  
μῶν ὅν δὲ τρεῖς  
παίσαται πὶ γὰρ ἀπο-  
πον ἀκρίβειαν τῆς κυριο-  
λεξικῶν, ἐν ταῖς  
διαλέκτοις καὶ ἐρριπῆν  
ὁπμελῶς τοῖς σημαι-  
νομένοις, ἐστὶ γὰρ ὅπερ  
τὴν ἀγνοίαν τῆς λογι-  
κῶν μεγάλως περιπίπτο-  
μεν μὴ καθάριον τὰς  
ὁμωνυμίας καὶ ἀμφιβο-  
λίας, καὶ κατὰχρήσεις  
καὶ κυριολεξίας καὶ δια-  
στολὰς ὅσον ὅτι τὸ ἀγ-  
νοῦν τὸν ὁμωνυμον  
τῆς κόσμου περισηροῖας  
φωνῆν, ἐκπεπῶχεν ὅτι  
τὸ ἀσεβῆσαι φρονεῖν  
ὡς τὸ δημεργεῖ, οἱ μὴ  
καθαρίον ὅτι πῶν  
κεῖται τὸ, ὁ κόσμος  
ἐν ᾧ πορνῶν κεῖται, ὅτι  
ἀντὶ τῆς πειγείων καὶ  
ἀνδραπίνων τὸ τοῦ ἔτους

nymy



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ἐκεῖ ὡς Ἰωάννη εἶρηται,  
 διηδέντες γὰρ κόσμον καὶ  
 αὐτὴν πῶς λέξιν σημαί-  
 νεται τὸ σύστημα τὸ ἐξ  
 ἑαυτοῦ καὶ γῆς καὶ οὐ-  
 ἐν αὐτοῖς δοξαστάτα  
 καὶ ἀνοσιώτατα ἀπορρί-  
 νονται ὡς Θεὸς μηδα-  
 μῶς ἐργῶ δεικνύσαι  
 διωάμφοι πῶς ἡλιος  
 καὶ σελήνη καὶ ἀστέρες  
 τὰ ἕτω τεταγμένα κι-  
 νῶμενα κείται ἐν τῇ  
 πορρῳ εἶτα ἐὰν ὡς  
 πάγωμεν αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς  
 ἑστῆς ἐστὶν ὁ αἰνὸς τῆς  
 Θεοῦ ὁ αἶρων πῶς ἀ-  
 μαρτίαν τῆς κόσμου—  
 πάλιν τε Θεὸς ἦν ἐν  
 Χριστῷ κόσμον καταλ-  
 λάσσειν ἑαυτῷ ὅτι καὶ  
 καὶ ἡμᾶς τῆς δέλον-  
 τας μὴ σφάλλεσθαι, ὡς  
 πῶς ἀληθείαν ἐν τῇ νο-  
 εῖν τὰς δέας γεγρα-  
 ἀναγκασιότατα ἐστὶ τὰ  
 πῶς πῶς εἰς πῶς χρῆσιν  
 εἰδέναι λογικῶς. Tom. i.  
 Comment. in Gerus. p.  
 16, 17. Vol. i.

nymy of the word  
 World, have fell into  
 wicked Opinions touch-  
 ing its Maker, not dis-  
 cerning what that sig-  
 nifies in 1 John 5. 19.  
 The World lies in  
 wickedness; where they  
 understanding by the  
 World the frame of  
 Heaven and Earth,  
 and all Creatures  
 therein, blaspheme the  
 Creator thereof, by af-  
 firming, that the Sun,  
 Moon and Stars, which  
 move in so exact an  
 Order, lie in Wicked-  
 ness. So also through  
 the same Ignorance  
 they know not the true  
 Sense of that Text  
 in 1 John 30. This  
 is the Lamb of God,

which taketh away the Sins of the  
 World. Neither of that in 2 Cor. 5. 19.  
 God was in Christ reconciling the World  
 to himself: Wherefore if we would not err  
 about the true sense of the Holy Scripture,

it is necessary that we understand Logick, which art of <sup>1</sup> Logick, the foresaid Father thinks, is recommended to us by Solomon in Prov. 10. 17. He that refuseth Reproof, or Logick, as he rendreth it, erreth.

<sup>1</sup> Προβλέπει καὶ ὁ θεὸς λόγον ἡμῶς ὅτι διαλεκτικῶς, ὅπερ μὲν Σολομῶν ἰσχυρίζεται, Παιδεία δ' ἀνεξέλεγκτος. Contra Celsum, lib. 6. p. 279.

Clemens Alexandrinus also stiffly asserts the Utility of Humane Learning, where he says, <sup>2</sup> That it is

profitable to Christianity for the clear and distinct Demonstration of its Doctrines, <sup>3</sup> in that it helps us to the more evident understanding of the Truth.

<sup>2</sup> Φιλοσοφία χρησίμη πρὸς θεοσεβειαν γίνεσθαι, περὶ παιδείας πρὸς τοῖς πᾶσι πῶς δι' ἀποδείξεως καρπερμύνοις. Strom. lib. 1. p. 207.

And in particular for Logick, he gives it high Encomiums, as that <sup>4</sup> it is a hedge to defend the Truth from being trod down by Sophisters, that <sup>5</sup> it gives us great light duly to under-

<sup>3</sup> Φιλοσοφία πρὸς κατέληψιν τῆς ἀληθείας. Ibidem. p. 233.

<sup>4</sup> Θεουργὸς ὃ ἐστὶ διαλεκτικὴ ὥς μὴ καταπατεῖσθαι πρὸς τῶν σοφιστῶν πᾶν ἀλήθειαν. Stromat. lib. 6. p. 472.

<sup>5</sup> Ταῖς γραφαῖς αὐτῶν μέγα φῶς ἐνίσκτει ταῖς ψυχαῖς. Ibidem.

stand

<sup>1</sup> Ἡ διαλεκτικὴ συνεργεῖ πρὸς τὸ μὴ ὑποπίπτειν ταῖς κατὰ τρεχέσας αἵρέσεις. *Stromat. lib. I. p. 234.*

<sup>2</sup> Ὅδὸς δὲ τῆς ζωῆς φυλάσσει παιδεία ὥς μὴ ἀπατηθῆναι, ὥς μὴ κλαπῆναι πρὸς τὸ ὅτι βλάβη τῷ ἀκρωμυλίων καὶ κολεχνίαν ἡσκηκότων. *Ibid. p. 210.*

So that he thinks Philosophy and the Li-

<sup>3</sup> Θεόθεν ἦκεν εἰς ἀνθρώπους. *Stromat. lib. I. p. 210.*

*stand the Holy Scriptures, that <sup>1</sup> it is necessary to confute the Sophisms of Hereticks. And in general, for all sorts of Learning he tells us, <sup>2</sup> that it keeps the way of Life, that we be not deceived or circumvented, by those that endeavour to draw us into the way of sin.*

*beral Arts <sup>3</sup> came down from Heaven unto Men. But should*

I produce all the Passages in this Father concerning the Utility and Excellency of Humane Learning, I must transcribe several Pages in Folio, which if the Reader has a Curiosity to view, he may especially take notice of these Places, *Stromat. lib. I. Pag. 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215. and Stromat. lib. 6. Pag. 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477.*

§ 10. It is true, there were some in those days, of whom *Clemens Alexandri-*

*nus*



mus complains, <sup>1</sup> who dreaded Philosophy, lest it should deceive them, as much as Children did Hobgoblins. Because they saw by too lamentable ex-

<sup>1</sup> Πόλλοι ὃ καὶ ἀπερ ὁι παῖδες τὰ μορμολύχια, ὥπως δεδίασιν τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν φιλοσοφίαν, φοβέμενοι μὴ ἀπαγάγῃ αὐτοὺς. Strom. lib.6. p. 472.

perience, that many Learned Mens Brains were so charmed, or Intoxicated with Philosophical Notions, as that they laboured to transform them into Christian Verities, and so thereby became Authors of most pestilent and damnable Heresies, which is particularly observed by *Tertullian*, with respect to the Hereticks of his time, who on this account

calls <sup>2</sup> the Philosophers, the Patriarchs of Hereticks. Therefore they accused Philosophy it self, as <sup>3</sup> the Production of some evil Inventor, introduced into the World for the ruin and destructi-

<sup>2</sup> Hæreticorum Patriarchæ Philosophi. *Advers. Hermog.* p. 266.

<sup>3</sup> Οἱ ὃ καὶ πρὸς κακὴν ἀντὶ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν εἰσδεδοκέναι τὴν βίον νομίζουσιν ὅτι λυμένη τὴν ἀνθρώπων πρὸς τὴν ἀρετὴν πονηρὰ. Clemens Alexand. Strom. l.4. p. 204.

on of Mankind. Even *Tertullian* himself, for this reason had an extream Pique against Philosophy, and violently decry'd it,

it, especially Logick, as inconsistent with true Christianity, as may be seen at large in his Book *De Prescriptione adversus Hereticos*, p. 70, 71.

But to this Objection *Clemens Alexandrinus* replies, that if any Man had been

<sup>1</sup> Μήτε τὴν φιλοσοφίαν λυμαινεσθαι ἢ βίον, ψευδῶν τε γυμνάσιων καὶ φαύλων ἔργων ἀμείβετον ὑπάρχουσιν πειβολῇ πλείονι χρωσθέντες ἀμνηστῇ συγγυμνασίᾳ πρὸ πίστεως ἀποδεικτικὴν ἐκποιεῖσθαι. *Stromat. lib. i. p. 204.*

deceived and misled by Philosophy, <sup>1</sup> that that proceeded not from Philosophy, but from the wickedness of his Nature; for whosoever has Wisdom enough to use it, he is able thereby to make a larger and a more demonstrative Defense

of the Faith than others. And concerning Logick in particular, he tells them, that as for Eristick, jangling Logick, for impertinent and contentious Sophisms, which he elegantly calls

<sup>2</sup> *Stromat. lib. 6. p. 500.*

<sup>3</sup> *Stromat. lib. i. p. 205, 211, 212, 215. and lib. 6. p. 472, 500.*

τὰς σκιάς τῶν λόγων, <sup>2</sup> the Shadows of Reason; he disliked it as much as they, and frequently <sup>3</sup> inveighs against it: But as for the solid substantial part of

it, he could not but deem it profitable and

and advantageous,  
since <sup>1</sup> it helps us to  
find out the Truth,  
enables us the better  
to understand the  
Scriptures, and <sup>3</sup> shews  
us how to refel the So-  
phisms and cunning  
Arguments of the He-  
reticks.

But besides this sort of Objectors,  
there were others, of whom Clemens A-  
lexandrinus speaks, who condemned Learn-  
ing on this account,  
because it was <sup>4</sup> hu-  
mane, unto whom  
that Father an-  
swers, that <sup>5</sup> it was  
most unreasonable,  
that Philosophy only  
should be condemned

on this account, and that the meanest Arts be-  
sides, even those of a Smith and Shipwright,  
which are as much Humane, should be com-  
mended and approv-  
ed; that <sup>6</sup> they did  
not rest here and go  
no farther, but ha-

τας τῆτο καὶ κησοαμύας ἀπείναι οἷαδε δύνασθαι  
ἐπὶ τὴν ἀληθῆ φιλοσοφίαν. Ibidem, p. 475.

<sup>1</sup> Συλλαμβάνεσθαι φι-  
λοσοφία τῇ πρὸς τὸ  
ἀλήθειαν ἀγέσει. Stro-  
mat. lib. 1. p. 233.

<sup>2</sup> Ταῖς γεγραμμέναις  
ταῖς μύταις ὡς ἐντίκται  
τῇ ψυχῇ. Stromat. lib.  
6. p. 472.

<sup>3</sup> Ἡ διαλεκτικὴ συ-  
νεργεῖ πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἰσο-  
πίπτεν τῇ καταρρεχέ-  
σαις αἰρέτεσι. Stromat.  
lib. 1. p. 234.

<sup>4</sup> Ἀνθρωπίνῳ σώμα-  
τι. Stromat. lib. 6. p.  
476.

<sup>5</sup> Πῶς ἐκ ἄλλοιων τεκ-  
τονικῆς καὶ ναυπηγικῆς  
χρῆσιν νομίζεν φιλοσο-  
φίαν. Ibidem. p. 476.

<sup>6</sup> Οὐδαμῶς τέτοις ἐν  
διατείπῃσιν ἀλλ' ἢ εἰς  
μόνον τὸ ἀπ' αὐτῶν  
χρήσιμον, ὡς λαβόν-



ving got what was useful and profitable from it, they ascended higher unto the true Philosophy,

<sup>1</sup> Περὶ προπαιδείας  
τοῖν τε ἢ φιλοσοφίας  
προοδὸς ποιεῖται ἅ ὑπὸ  
χειρὸς τελειώμενον. Stro-  
mat. lib. 1. p. 207.

making this hu-  
mane Philosophy  
Guide unto, or,  
Preparatory for the  
true Philosophy.

These were the Sentiments of this Learned Father touching the Utility and Excellency of Humane Learning, with respect to the Interpretation of Scripture, the finding out and defending of the true Faith and Doctrine, and such like things, which were the very Heart and Soul of the Presbyters Function and Employ; from whence we may rationally collect, that it was needful, amiable, and profitable in a Presbyter: I do not say that it was absolutely necessary, for it is apparent that a great part of the ancient Presbyters were not skill'd in it; but I say that it was very useful and advantageous, and they prized and esteemed those Presbyters, who were vers'd in it, especially those of them who were Arch-Presbyters or Bishops, who, if possible, were to be well read in those parts of Learning, which were proper to confirm the Articles of Christianity, and to confute

confute the Enemies thereof. This is plainly insinuated by Origen, when he

says, *That the Ho-*

*Scriptures exhort*

*us to learn Logick,*

*at that place, where*

*is said by Solo-*

*mon, He that refu-*

*seth reproof, or Lo-*

*gick, as he under-*

*standeth it, erreth;*

*and that therefore*

*he that instructeth others, (the Greek*

*Word more particularly denotes the*

*Bishop) ought to be able to convince Gain-*

*ers.*

ἸΠερτρέπει καὶ ὁ θεὸς  
 ὁ λόγος ἡμᾶς ὅτι δι-  
 αλεκλικὴν, ὅπερ μὲν Σολο-  
 μῶντος λέγοντος, παι-  
 δεία ὅτι ἀνεξέλεγκτος --  
 ὅτι δὲ τὸ πρῶτον μὲν τῷ  
 λόγῳ δυνατόν εἶναι τὸς  
 ἀνελέγοντας ἐλέγχειν.  
 Contra Celsum, lib. 6. p.  
 279.

§ II. Upon this Examination of the Candidates for the Ministry; and their approbation by the Presbytery, the next thing that followed was their being declared capable of their desired Function; to which they were very seldom present-ly advanced, but first gave a Specimen of their Abilities in their discharge of other inferior Ecclesiastick Offices, and so proceeded by degrees to the Supreme Function of all, as *Cornelius Bishop of*

<sup>1</sup> Non iste ad Episcopatum subito pervenit, per omnia ecclesiastica officia promotus--ad Sacerdotii sublime fastigium cunctis religionis gradibus ascendit. *Cypr. Epist. 52. § 4. p. 115.*

<sup>2</sup> Merebatur talis Clericæ Ordinationis ulteriores gradus & incrementa majora, sed interim placuit ut ab Officio lectionis incipiat. *Idem Epist. 33. p. 77.*

Rome, <sup>1</sup> did not presently leap into his Office, but passing through all the Ecclesiastical Employments gradually ascended thereunto. And *Aurelius*, a Member of the Church of Carthage, <sup>2</sup> began first with the lowest Office of a Lecturor, though by his extraordinary Merits he deserved those that were more sublime and honourable.

§ 12. That this was their constant and unalterable Practice, I dare not affirm; I rather think the contrary, as I might easily prove, were it pertinent to my Design; this that follows is more certain, that whether they were gradually or presently Ordained Presbyters, their Names were published or propounded to the People of that Church, where they were to be Ordained, that so if worthy of that Office, they might have the Testimony and Attestation of the People; or if unworthy and unfit, they might be debarred



debarred and excluded from it, by which course the Crimes of the Wicked were discovered, the Vertues of the Good declared, and the Ordination became Valid and Legitimate, being examin'd by the Suffrage and Judgment of all.

<sup>1</sup> Ordinationes Sacerdotales non nisi sub Populi assistentis conscientia fieri oportere, ut plebe præsente vel detegantur malorum crimina, vel bona merita prædicentur, & sic ordinatio justa & legitima, quæ omnium suffragio & judicio fuerit examinata. *Cyprian. Epist. 68. § 4. p. 201.*

§ 13. If the People objected nothing against the Persons proposed, but approved their fitness for that Office; the next thing that followed, was their Actual Ordination in that particular Church, where they were so propounded, not that they were only ordain'd for that particular Church, but in it they were ordained Ministers of the Church Universal, being at liberty, either to serve that Church, where they received their Orders, or, if they had a Legal Call, to spend their Labours elsewhere, in other Churches, as *Origen* was a Presbyter of *Alexandria*, tho he was  
<sup>2</sup> Ordained in *Palestina*, by the Bishops of *Cæsarea* and *Jerusa-*

<sup>2</sup> Καταρχίας τε καὶ ἱεροπολιτικῶν ὁπιοποι χείρας εἰς πρεσβυτέρων αὐτῶν τεθείηται. *Euseb. lib. 6. c. 8. p. 209.*

K 3

lem,

<sup>1</sup> Numidicus Presbyter adscribatur Presbyterorum Carthagenensium numero. *Cyprian. Epist. 35. p. 84.*

lem, and <sup>1</sup> Numidicus was a Presbyter of the Church of Carthage, though he received his Orders elsewhere. Hence the

Presbyters of a Church were not confined to a set number, as the Bishop and Deacons were, but were sometimes more, sometimes less; as fit Persons for that Office presented themselves, so were they Ordained, some of whom still remained in the same Church, where they received their Orders; and others went and served other Churches, every one going where the Providence of God did call him.

§ 14. But now their formal Ordination was by Imposition of Hands, usually of the Bishop and Presbyters of the Parish where they were Ordained: For this there needs no other Proof than that

Injunction of St. Paul to Timothy, <sup>2</sup> Neglect not the Gift that is in thee, which was given thee by Prophecy, with the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery.

As for Imposition of hands, it was a Ceremony that was variously used in the Old Testament, from whence it was translated into the New, and in the Primitive Church used on sundry occasions to no purpose here to enumerate: One of those Actions was, Ordination of Church-Officers, wherein, I think, it was never omitted. Thus *Novatian* was *Ordained a Presbyter* <sup>1</sup> by Imposition of Hands. And the Bishops of *Cesarea* and *Jerusalem* <sup>2</sup> Imposed Hands on *Origen* to make him a *Presbyter*. The Imposition of Hands being the Completion of Ordination, or the Final Act thereof; for whosoever had past through the forementioned Examination and Attestation, and consequently to that had received the laying on of Hands, he was esteemed by all, as legally Ordained, and was ever after deemed to have sufficient Power and Authority to exert and discharge the Duty and Office of the Presbytership, to which by those Actions he was advanced and promoted.

<sup>1</sup> Καθηξάμεν τὸ πρεσβυτεῖα κατὰ χεῖρας τὸ ἐπισκόπος τὸ ἐπιστάτης αὐτῷ χεῖρας εἰς πρεσβυτεῖα κλήρον. *Cornel. apud Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 43. p. 245.*

<sup>2</sup> Χεῖρας εἰς πρεσβυτεῖον αὐτῷ τεθείησιν. *Apud Euseb. lib. 6. c. 8. p. 209.*



§ 15. Here now I shall conclude what I designed to write with respect to the first Particular, concerning the Peculiar Acts of the Clergy, under which I have discoursed distinctly of the Office, and Order of Bishops, Priests and Deacons, as also of several other things relating to their Charge and Dignity. As for those other Acts of theirs, which remain to be inquired into, I shall not meddle with them here; for though they may have some Rapport or Connexion to this Head, yet they more properly and immediately respect the third, unto which place therefore I shall refer their Discussion and Examination.

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## CHAP. VI.

§ 1. *The Peculiar Acts of the Laity proposed to be discoursed of. What were the Qualifications of Church-Membership.*

§ 2. *The People in some Cases had Power to depose their Bishops.* § 3. *The Conjunct Acts of the Clergy and Laity proposed to be discoursed of. All Ecclesiastical Affairs were managed by their joint Endeavours.*

§ 1. **H**AVING in the former Chapters treated of the Peculiar Acts of the Clergy, I come now in this to speak something to the Peculiar Acts of the Laity, and to enquire into those Actions and Powers, which they exerted distinctly by themselves. And here it may not be amiss first of all to make an Enquiry into the Constitution of the Laity, that is, how and by what means they were first admitted to be Members of a Church, by Vertue of which Membership they were made Partakers of all those Powers, which we shall hereafter mention.

Now

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Now for Answer hereunto, in general

<sup>1</sup> Per Baptisma Spiritus sanctus accipitur, & sic à baptizatis & Spiritum sanctum consecutis ad bibendum calicem Domini pervenitur. Cyprian. Ep. 63. § 5. p. 175.

all those that were baptized, were looked upon as Members of the Church, and had a right to all the Priviledges thereof; except they had been guilty of gross and scandalous Sins, as Idolatry, Murder, Adultery, and such like; for then they were cast out of the Church, and not admitted again, till by a Penitent and holy Deportment they had testified their Grief and Sorrow for their unholy and irregular Actions; for

<sup>2</sup> Ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐπὶ δύναμιν πάντα ποιήσομεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ θεοφιλοῦς ἀνδρῶν γενέσθαι ἢ συλλογῶν ἡμῶν. Contra Celsum, lib. 3. p. 143.

<sup>3</sup> Οὐδεὶς ἐν τοῖς συνεδείοις ἢ ἐπὶ τὰς κοινὰς ἀρχὰς ἐρχομένης εἰ μὴ ὁμοῦ πρὸς ὁμοίως λαλῶν ἐν τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐνείσκητο τοῖς τῷ. Origen contra Celsum, lib. 4. p. 178.

as Origen saith, <sup>2</sup> We do our utmost, that our Assemblies be composed of good and wise Men. So that <sup>3</sup> none who are admitted to our Congregations, and Prayers are vitious and wicked, except very rarely it may happen, that a particular bad man

may be concealed in so great a number.

But



But since the greatest part of Christians were adult Persons at their Conversion to Christianity, and admission into Church-Fellowship and Society, therefore we must consider the Prerequisites of Baptism, since that Sacrament gave them a Right and Title to that admission or reception.

Now those Persons who designed to leave Heathenism and Idolatry, and desired to be Members of a Christian Church, were not presently advanced to that degree, but were first continued a certain space of Time in the rank of the Catechumens, or the Catechised ones: These were Candidates of Christianity, who were to stay some time in that Order for these two Reasons: The one was, That they might be Catechised and Instructed in the Articles of the Christian Faith, from whence they were called *Catechumens*: And the other was, <sup>1</sup> *that they might give demonstrations of the reality of their Intentions, by the Change of their Lives, and the Holiness of their Conversations.*

<sup>1</sup> Ἐπὶ πλεῖς τελευτῶν  
ἡρώσι πρὸς τὸ φιλοπαι-  
δεῖν τὰς ψυχὰς. Idem Ibi-  
dem, p. 142.

Whilst they were in this Estate, or rather in a Preparatory thereunto, <sup>1</sup> *they*

<sup>1</sup> Καὶ ἰδίαν αὐτοῖς  
προεωσαντες. Idem  
Ibidem, p. 142.

<sup>1</sup> they were first pri-  
vately instructed at  
home, till they un-  
derstood the more

Intelligible Principles of Christianity,  
and then they were admitted into the  
first Rank of Catechumens, who are call-

ed by Tertullian <sup>2</sup> E-  
docti, or, those that  
are taught. These

<sup>2</sup> De Præscript. adv.  
Heret. p. 89.

<sup>3</sup> Τῶνδε δὲ αὐτὰς εἰ-  
σαγαγον, ἰδίᾳ μὲν ποι-  
ήσαντες τὰ γὰρ τῶν ἀρ-  
παρχομένων καὶ εἰσαγο-  
μένων. Origen contra  
Celsum, lib. 3. p. 142.

were permitted <sup>3</sup> to  
come into the Church  
where they stood in a  
place by themselves,

<sup>4</sup> Παρσιωπῶμεν τὰ  
βαδύτερα τὰς συνερχο-  
μένας καὶ δεομένας λόγων  
προπῶς ὀνομαζομένων  
τάλα. Idem Ibidem, p.  
143.

<sup>4</sup> and were present at  
the Sermons, which  
were adapted to their  
Capacities, being Dis-  
courses of theordi-  
nary and less mysteri-  
ous Truths of the

Gospel. If they behaved themselves well in  
this Rank, then they were advanced to the

<sup>5</sup> Ἐλεγον δὲ πὲρ τούτου,  
Idem Ibidem. p. 142.

<sup>6</sup> De Præscript. advers.  
Heret. p. 89.

<sup>5</sup> Superior Rank of the  
<sup>6</sup> Perfecti, or Perfect,  
as Tertullian calls  
them, who stayed  
not only at the Les-

sons and Sermons, but also at the Prayers,  
which were the Conclusion of the first  
Service,

Service, and in a little time were baptized, and tarried with the Faithful at the Celebration of the Eucharist, or the Second Service.

This was the manner of Admission amongst the Ancients ; none in those days were hastily advanced to the higher Forms of Christianity, but according to their Knowledge and Merit gradually arrived thereunto, being first instructed at home, then admitted to the Didactick part of the Publick, and then to the Supplicative part thereof. It was the wicked Policy of

the Hereticks *Indifferently to pray and hear with all, making no difference between the Faithful or the*

<sup>1</sup> Quis Catechumenus, quis fidelis incertum est; pariter audiunt, pariter orant. *Tert. de Praescript. advers. Hæret. p. 88.*

*Catechumens* : But the True Church distinguished and permitted not the Catechumens to enjoy the Priviledges of the Faithful, till they had in a Sense merited them, which was, when through a considerable time of Trial they had evidenced the sincerity of their Hearts, by the Sanctity and Purity of their Lives, and then, as *Origen*

saith, <sup>2</sup> we initiate them in our Mysteries,

<sup>2</sup> Ἐπὶ ὧς οἱ νεο-  
κρίτους ἐκτελέσονται τὰ  
κρυπτά τῆς  
ἐκκλησίας

when



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λόγῳ, καὶ ὅση δύναμις  
βέλπτον βεβιωκέναι τὸ  
πρωτεύειν καλεῖται αὐ-  
τὸς ὅτι τὰς παρ' ἡμῶν  
τελετὰς. *Contra Cel-*  
*sum, lib. 3. p. 147.*

when they have made  
a Proficiency in Holi-  
ness, and according to  
the utmost of their pow-  
er, have reformed their  
Conversations. When

they had changed their Manners, and re-  
ctified their Irregular Carriages; then  
they were washed with the Water of  
Baptism, and not before; for as *Tertul-*

*lian* saith, <sup>2</sup> *We are*  
*not baptized, that we*  
*may cease to sin, but*  
*because we have alrea-*  
*dy ceased.*

<sup>2</sup> *Non ideo abluimur, ut*  
*delinquere desinamus*  
*sed quia desinivimus.,*  
*De Pœnitentia, p. 379.*

As soon as they were baptized, they  
commenced Members of the Church U-  
niversal, and of that Particular Church,  
wherein they were so baptized, and be-  
came actual Sharers and Exerters of all  
the Priviledges and Powers of the Faith-  
ful.

§ 2. Now what the Distinct and Sepa-  
rate Powers of the Faithful were, must  
be next considered; several of them, to  
make the Discourse under the former  
Head complete, we touched there, as  
their Election and choice of their Bish-  
ops, their Attestation to those that were  
Or-

Ordained, and such like, which will be unnecessary and tedious to repeat here; and others of them cannot be well separated from their Conjoint Acts with the Clergy, but must with them be discoursed of in the next Head, so that there will be little or nothing to say here of their Discretive and Particular Acts, save, that as they had Power to elect their Bishops, so if their Bishops proved afterwards scandalous and grossly wicked in Life, or at least Heretical in Doctrine, and Apostates from the Faith, they had Power to depose them, and to chuse others in their rooms. This I must be forced also to mention in another place, so that for the Proof of it I shall urge only the Case of *Martialis* and *Basilides*, two Spanish Bishops, who for Apostacy and Idolatry were deserted by their Parishes, who Elected *Felix* and *Sabinus* Bishops in their steads. After this Deposition *Martialis* and *Basilides* claim'd the Exercise of their Episcopal Authority, but their Parishes denyed it to them; and that they might not seem to act by a Power, which belonged not unto them, they sent to several Bishops in *Africa*, to know their Judgment thereupon, who being convened in a Synod *Anno* 258, whereof *Cyprian* was President,

President, approved and commended

<sup>1</sup> Desiderio vestro divina praecepta respondent quibus jampridem mandantur voce coelesti, & Dei lege praescribitur, quos & quales oporteat deservire altari. — in Levitico praecipit Dominus & dicit, Homo, in quo fuerit macula & vitium non accedet offerre dona Deo — nec sibi plebs blandiatur quasi immunis esse à contagio delicti possit, cum Sacerdote peccatore communicans. —

Propter quod plebs obsequens praeceptis dominicis, & Deum metuens, a peccatore praeposito separare se debet, nec se ad Sacrilegi Sacerdotis Sacrificia miscere; quando ipsa maxime habeat potestatem vel eligendi dignos Sacerdotes, vel indignos recusandi. *Epist. 68. apud Cyprian. § 1, 3, 4. p. 200, 201.*

their Proceedings, assuring them, <sup>1</sup> That it was according to the Divine Law, which was express, that none but those that were holy and blameless should approach God's Altar; That if they had continued to have communicated with their Profane Bishops, they would have been Accessaries to their Guilt and Villany, and would have contradicted those Examples and Commands in Scripture, which oblige a People to separate from their wicked and ungodly Ministers; That they had not acted irregularly in what they had done; since as the People had

the chief Power of choosing worthy Bishops, so also of refusing those that were unworthy: And many other such like Passages are to



to be found in that Synodical Epistle, which flatly assert the Peoples Power to depose a wicked and Scandalous Bishop.

But however, though the People had such a Power appertaining to them, yet being subject to be guided by Giddiness, Envy or Pride, where Churches were regularly associated, and their Circumstances did permit it, they did not by vertue of their power alone, upon their own single Judgment depose their Bishop; but that their Actions might be the more Authentick and Unquestionable, they had their Complaints heard, and the whole Affair examined by the Synod to which they belonged, or by some other Bishops, who if their Accusations were just and valid, might concur with them in the Deposition of their Bishop, and in the Election of a new one: And from hence it is that we find the Power of Deposing Bishops ascribed to

Synods, <sup>1</sup> as *Paulus* <sup>1</sup> *Apud Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 30. p. 282.*

*Samosatenus* Bishop of *Antioch* was deprived by a Synod held in that place, and

<sup>2</sup> *Privatus* Bishop of *Lambese* was deposed by a Synod of ninety Bishops. The

<sup>2</sup> *Nonaginta Episcoporum sententia condemnatum. Cyprian. Ep. 55. § 11. p. 140.*

L

same

same Method being observed in the Deposition of a Bishop, as in his Election. As a Bishop was elected by the People, over whom he was to preside, and by the neighbouring Bishops, so was he deposed by the same; both which things seem to be intimated in that Passage of the fore-mentioned Synodical Epistle, wherein it

<sup>1</sup> Quando ipsa maxime habeat potestatem, vel eligendi dignos Sacerdotes, vel indignos recusandi. *Apud Cypr. Epist. 68. § 4. p. 201.*

is said, <sup>1</sup> That the People chiefly have Power either to chuse worthy Bishops, or to refuse unworthy ones.

The Word chiefly implying, that be-

sides the People, some others were necessary to concur with them either in the Election or Deprivation of a Bishop; and those were the neighbouring Bishops, or to speak more properly, that Synod to which they appertained; of which Synods, of their Power and Authority, I shall discourse more largely elsewhere.

§ 3. Having thus briefly dispatched the Second Head, I now proceed to handle the Third, which respects the Con-junct Acts of the Clergy and Laity: In answer whereunto, I find, that in general all things relating to the Government and Policy

Policy of the Church were performed by their joynt Consent and Administrati-

ons, <sup>1</sup> the People were to do nothing without

the Bishop : And on the contrary, <sup>2</sup> he

did nothing without the knowledge and con-

sent of his People, <sup>3</sup> When any Letters

came from Foreign Churches, they were

received, and read before the whole Church,

and <sup>4</sup> the whole Church agreed upon common

Letters to be sent to other Churches. And

so for all other matters relating to

the Policy of the Church, they were managed <sup>5</sup> by the

common advice and Counsel of the Clergy

and Laity, both concurred to the Discharge of those Acti-

ons, to recite every particular Act where-

of would be extremely tedious and fruit-

less. Wherefore in speaking hereunto,

<sup>1</sup> Ἀνευ τῆς ἐκκλησίας  
μὴδὲν ποιεῖν ὕμῃς.  
Ignat. Epist. ad Tralles.  
p. 47.

<sup>2</sup> A primordio Episcopatus mei statuerim, nihil sine consensu plebis meæ privata sententia gerere. Cyprian. Epist. 6. § 5. p. 17.

<sup>3</sup> Plebi legere te semper literas nostras. Cyprian. Epist. 55. § 21. p. 144.

<sup>4</sup> Vicarias vero pro nobis, ego, & Collegæ, & Fraternitas omnis, has ad vos literas mittimus. Idem, Ep. 58. § 2. p. 163.

<sup>5</sup> In commune tractabimus. Cyprian. Epist. 6. § 5. p. 17.



I shall confine my self to those of their Complex Acts, that regarded the Discipline of the Church, which being an Answer to the Second Part of our Enquiry, *viz.* An Enquiry into the Discipline of the Primitive Church, shall be the Subject of the following Chapter.

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## CHAP. VII.

§ 1. *The Necessity, Quality, and Excellency of Discipline. Six things propounded to be handled. 1. For what Faults Offenders were censured. 2. Who were the Judges that censured. 3. The manner of their Censures. 4. What their Censures were. 5. The Course that Offenders took to be absolved. 6. The manner of their Absolution.* § 2. *Censures were inflicted for all sorts of Crimes, especially for Idolatry.* § 3. *The whole Church were the Judges that composed the Ecclesiastical Consistory. The Executive Power lodg'd in the Clergy, and the Legislative both in Clergy and Laity. In difficult Points some neighbouring Bishops assisted at the Decision of them.* § 4. *The manner of their Censures.* § 5. *Their Censures consisted in Excommunications, and Suspensions; the dreadfulness thereof.* § 6. *The Course that Offenders took to be absolved: They first lay groveling and weeping at the Church-doors.* § 7. *Then admitted into the Rank of the Penitents. Their Behaviour during their time of Penance.* § 8. *How long their Penance was. In some Cases the fixed Period anticipated; when ended, the Penitents were examined*

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by the Court, and if approved, then Absolved. § 9. The manner of their Absolution. They came into the Church with all Expressions of Sorrow, publicly confessed the Sin, for which they had been censured. The Church was tenderly affected with their Confession. § 10. After Confession they were absolved by the Clergies Imposition of Hands. § 11. Then admitted to the Churches Peace. The Clergy generally restored only to Lay Communion.

§ 1. **A**S all Governments are necessitated to make use of Laws, and other Political Means, to preserve their Constitution. So the Church of Christ, which has a certain Government annexed to it, that it may preserve its self from Ruin and Confusion, has certain Laws and Orders for the due Regulation of her Members, and Penalties annexed to the Breaches thereof. But herein lies the difference between the one and the other; The Penalties and Executions of the former are like its Constitution, purely Humane and Carnal; but those of the other are Spiritual; as Religion was at first received by Spiritual and Voluntary, and not by Carnal and Involuntary means:



means ; for as *Ter-*  
*tullian* says, ' It is  
not Religion, to force  
a Religion, which  
ought to be willingly,  
not forcibly received.

' Nec Religionis est  
cogere Religionem, quæ  
sponte suscipi debeat,  
non vi. *Ad Scapulam*, p.  
447.

So by the same  
means it was continued, and the Penal-  
ties of the Breath of it were of the same  
Nature also. The Churches Arms were  
Spiritual, consisting of Admonitions,  
Excommunications, Suspensions, and such  
like, by the weilding of which she Go-  
verned her Members, and preserved her  
own Peace and Purity. Now this is that  
which is called Discipline, which is ab-  
solutely necessary to the Unity, Peace,  
and being of the Church ; for where  
there is no Law, Government or Order,  
that Society cannot possibly sublist, but  
must sink in its own Ruins and Confusi-  
ons.

To recite the numerous Encomiums of  
Discipline, that are interspers'd in the  
Writings of the Ancients, would be an  
endless Task : Let this one suffice out of  
*Cyprian*, ' Discipline,  
says he, is the Keep-  
er of Hope, the Stay  
of Faith, the Captain  
of Salvation, the Few-

' Disciplina custos spei,  
retinaculum fidei, Dux  
itineris salutaris, fomes  
ac nutrimentum bonæ  
indolis, magistra virtu-



to declare my Law, and to take my Judgments into thy Mouth? Thou hatedst Discipline, and castest my Words behind thee. And again we read in Wisdom 3. 11. He that casteth off Discipline is unhappy. And by Solomon we have received this Command from Wisdom, in Prov. 3. 11. My Son, forget not the Discipline of the Lord, nor faint when thou art corrected; for whom the Lord loveth he correcteth. But if God corrects whom he loves, and corrects them that they may amend; Christians also, and especially Ministers, do not hate, but love those whom they correct, that they may amend, since God hath also foretold our Times in Jer. 3. 15. And I will give you Pastours after mine own Heart, and they shall feed you in Discipline.

Now this is that Discipline, viz. The Power and Authority of the Church exerted by her, for her own Preservation, in the censuring of her offending Members, that I am now to Discourse of; for the clearer apprehension whereof these six Queries must be examined into, 1. For what Faults Offenders were censured. 2. Who were the Judges that censured. 3. The manner of their Censures. 4. What their Censures were. 5. The Course that Offenders took to be Absolved.



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Absolved. And, 6. The manner of their  
Absolution.

§ 2. As to the first of these, For what  
Faults Offenders were censured. I an-

<sup>1</sup> So was *Felicissimus*  
in *Cyprian, Epist. 38. § 2.*  
p. 90.

<sup>2</sup> *Euseb. lib. 5. c. 16. p.*  
181.

<sup>3</sup> *Origen. Hom. 7. in*  
*Jerem. p. 94. Vol. 1.*

<sup>4</sup> *Origen. Ibidem.*

<sup>5</sup> *Cyprian. Ep. 52. §*  
13. p. 118.

<sup>6</sup> *Cyprian. Ep. 38. § 2.*  
p. 90

<sup>7</sup> *Origen contra Cel-*  
*sum, lib. 3. p. 142.*

swer, for <sup>1</sup> Schism,  
<sup>2</sup> Heresie, <sup>3</sup> Covetous-  
ness, <sup>4</sup> Gluttony, <sup>5</sup> For-  
nication, <sup>6</sup> Adultery,  
and for <sup>7</sup> all other  
Sins whatsoever, none  
excepted; nay, the  
holy and good Men  
of those days were  
so zealous against  
Sin, that they used  
the strictest Severi-  
ties against the least

appearances of it, not indulging or spa-  
ring the least Branch of its pestiferous  
Production, but smartly punishing the  
least sprout of it, its lesser Acts, as well  
as those that were more scandalous and  
notorious. *Cyprian* writes, that not on-

ly <sup>8</sup> *Gravissima &*  
*extrema delicta*, The  
greatest and most  
heinous Crimes, but even *Minora Delicta*,  
The Lesser Faults were punished by their  
Ecclesiastical Courts, so cutting off Sin  
in

in its Bud, and by the Excision of its lesser Acts and Ebullitions, preventing its more gross and scandalous Eruptions. That particular Sin which they most severely punished, and through the frequency of Persecutions had numerous Objects of, was Apostacy from the Truth, or a lapsing into Idolatry, which Crime was always prosecuted with the extremest Rigour; of which *Ninus*, *Clementianus* and *Florus* were sad Instances, who though they had for some time couragiously endured their Persecutions and Torments, yet at last, through the violence thereof, and the weakness of their Flesh, unwillingly consenting to the Heathen Idolatries, were for that Fault forced to undergo three years Penance; and had it not been for their ancient Merits, must have underwent it much longer, as may be seen at large in the 53d Epistle of *Cyprian*: And thus by these and such like severe and rigorous Courses, those primitive Virtuoso's endeavoured to prevent sin, and to make all the Professors of the Christian Religion truly holy and pious; for as

Origen saith, <sup>1</sup> We use our utmost En-

<sup>2</sup> Ἡμεῖς γὰρ ὅσην δύναμιν πάντα πράττομεν ὥς τ' ἐφελκόμεθα ἀνδρῶν γενέσθαι ἢ σὺλ-λογον ἡμῶν. Contra Celsum, lib. 3. p. 143.

deavours

*deavours, that our Assemblies be composed of wise and honest Men.*

§ 3. As for the Judges that composed the Consistory or Ecclesiastical Court, before whom offending Criminals were convened, and by whom censured, they will appear to have been the whole Church, both Clergy and Laity; not the Bishop without the People, nor the People without the Bishop, but both conjunctly constituted that Supreme Tribunal, which censured Delinquents and Transgressors, as will be evident from what follows.

All the Power that any Church-Court exerted, was derived from that Promise and Commission of Christ, in *Mat. 16. 18, 19. Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock will I build my Church, and the Gates of Hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt bind on Earth, shall be bound in Heaven; whatsoever thou shalt loose on Earth, shall be loosed in Heaven.* Now this Power some of the Ancients mention, as given to the

Bishops. Thus Origen writes, ' That the Bishops applied to themselves this Promise

Ἐπεὶ ὁ οἱ τὸ πᾶν  
τὰς ἐπισκοπὰς ἐκδικῶν  
τὰς χρῶνται τὰς ἐν τῇ  
ὡς λέγει καὶ τὰς κλεί-



mise that was made to Peter, teaching, That they had received the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven from our Saviour, that so whatsoever was bound, that is, condemned by them on Earth, was bound in Heaven; and whatsoever was loosed by them, was also loosed in Heaven; which, says he, may be Orthodoxly enough applied to them, if they hold Peter's Confession, and are such as the Church of Christ may be built upon: And I say Cyprian, <sup>1</sup> The Church is founded upon the Bishops, by whom every Ecclesiastical Action is governed.

δὲ τῆς τῆς ἐκκλησίας βασιλείας ἀπὸ τοῦ σωτῆρος Θεοῦ εἰληφότες διδασκῶσι τε τὰ ὑποῦν αὐτῶν δεδωμένα τετέστι κατὰ δικαιοσύνην, καὶ ἐν ἐκκλησίαις δεδεῶται, καὶ τὰ ὑποῦν αὐτῶν ἀφῃσιν εἰληφότα, καὶ ἐν ἐκκλησίαις λεγόμενα, λεκτέον ὅτι ὡς λέγουσιν, εἰ ἔχουσιν ἔργον, διὸ εἴρηται ἐκείνῳ τῷ Πέτρῳ, σὺ εἶ Πέτρος Θεοῦ, καὶ εἰ τελικῆτοι εἰσιν ὡς ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς ὑποῦν Χριστὸς οἰκοδομεῖσθαι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ ἐπὶ αὐτῶν ἐυλόγως τὰ τοῦ ἀναφύοντος ἄν. Commentar. in Matthæum, Tom. 12. p. 279. Vol. I.

upon: And so also

<sup>1</sup> Ecclesia super Episcopos constituatur, & omnis actus Ecclesiæ, per eosdem præpositos gubernetur. Epist. 27. § 1. p. 62.

Others of the Ancients mention this Power, as given to the whole Church, according to that in Mat. 18. 15, 16, 17, 18. If thy Brother shall trespass against thee, go and tell him his Fault between thee and

and him alone ; if he shall hear thee, thou hast gained thy Brother ; but if he will not hear thee, take with thee one or two more, that in the mouth of two or three Witnesses every Word may be established ; and if he shall neglect them, tell it unto the Church ; but if he neglect to hear the Church, let him be unto thee as an Heathen and a Publican, Verily I say unto you, Whatsoever ye shall bind on Earth shall be bound in Heaven, and whatsoever ye shall loose on Earth shall be loosed in Heaven. By the Church here is to be understood, the whole Body of a particular Church or Parish, unto which some of the Fathers attribute the Power of

<sup>1</sup> Si clausum putas Cœlum, memento claves ejus hic Dominum Petro, & per eum Ecclesiæ reliquisse. *Scorpiac. p. 612.*

<sup>2</sup> Potestas remittendorum peccatorum Apostolis data est, & Ecclesiis quas illi à Christo missi, constituerunt, & Episcopis qui eis Ordinatione vacariâ successerunt. *Apud Cyprian. Epist. 75. § 14. P. 240.*

the Keys, as Tertulian, <sup>1</sup> If thou fearest Heaven to be shut, remember the Lord gave its Keys to Peter, and by him to the Church. And Firmilian, <sup>2</sup> The Power of remitting Sins is given to the Apostles, and to the Churches which they constituted, and to the Bishops who succeeded them. Now from this different attribution

attribution of the Power of the Keys, we may infer this, That it was so lodged both in Bishops and People, as that each had some share in it : The Bishop had the whole Executive, and part of the Legislative Power ; and the People had a part in the Legislative, though not in the Executive. As for the Executive Power, by which I understand the formal Pronunciation of Suspensions and Excommunications, the Imposition of Hands in the Absolution of Penitents, and such like ; that could be done by none, but by the Bishop, or by Persons in Holy Orders Deputed and Commission'd by him, as the Sequel will evince. But as for the Legislative, Decretive, or Judicatorial Power, that appertained both to Clergy and Laity, who conjunctly made up that Supreme Consistorial Court, which was in every Parish, before which all Offenders were tried ; and, if found Guilty, sentenced and Condemned.

Now that the Clergy were Members of this Ecclesiastical Court, is a thing so evidently known and granted by all, as that it would be superfluous to heap up many Quotations to prove it, so that I shall but just confirm it, after I have proved that which may seem more strange,



strange, and that is, That the Laity were Members thereof, and Judges therein, being Sharers with the Clergy in the Judicial Power of the Spiritual Court: And this will most evidently appear by the consideration of these following Testimonies: The first shall be out of that place of *Clemens Romanus*, where he writes,

<sup>1</sup> Ἐγὼ δὲ ἐμὲ πάντας καὶ  
ἐξ υἱῶν, καὶ χρίσματα, ἐγ-  
χωρῶ, ἀπειμι, ἵνα ἐάν  
βύλας καὶ ποιῶ τὰ  
παρανόματα ὑπὸ τῆς  
πλήθους. Epist. 1. ad  
Corinth. p.69.

<sup>1</sup> Who will say according to the Example of Moses, If Seditions, Contentions and Schisms are happened because of me, I will depart, I will go

wheresoever you please, and I will do what are enjoined me by the People, so the Church of Christ be in Peace.

So *Origen* describes a Criminal as ap-

<sup>2</sup> Comment. in Mat.  
Tom.13. p. 335. Vol.  
1.

pearing ἐπὶ πάντων τῆς  
ἐκκλησίας, <sup>2</sup> Before  
the whole Church. And

*Dionysius* Bishop of *Alexandria* in his Letter to *Fabius* Bishop of *Antioch*, speaks of one *Serapion*, that had fallen in the Times of Persecution, who had several times appeared before

<sup>3</sup> Οὐδεὶς ποσὶν ἔχεν  
αὐτῷ. Euseb.lib.6.c.44.  
p.246.

the Church, to beg their Pardon, but  
<sup>3</sup> no one did ever take  
any notice of him.

But

But *Cyprian* is most full in this matter, as when two Subdeacons and an Acolyth of his Parish had committed some great Misdemeanours, he professes that he himself was not a sufficient Judge of their Crimes, but <sup>1</sup> *they*

*ought to be tried by all the People.* And concerning *Felicissimus* the Schismatick, he writes to his People

<sup>1</sup> Hæc singulorum tractanda sit, & limanda plenius ratio—cum plebe ipsa universa. *Epist.* 28. § 2. p. 64.

from his Exile, that, if it pleased God, he would come to them after Easter, and then that <sup>2</sup> *Affair*

*should be adjusted according to their Arbitrement and Common Counsel.* And in another place he condemns the rash

<sup>2</sup> Secundum arbitrium quoque vestrum & omnium nostrum Commune Consilium — ea quæ agenda sunt dispo- nere pariter, & limare poterimus. *Epist.* 40. § 1. p. 94.

Precipitation of

some of his Presbyters in admitting the Lapsed to Communion, because of some Pacificatory Libels obtained from the Confessors, and charges them to admit no more till Peace was restored to the Church, and then

they should <sup>3</sup> *plead their Cause before the Clergy, and before all*

<sup>3</sup> Acturi & apud nos, & apud plebem universam causam suam. *Epist.* 10. § 4. p. 30.

M

the

the People. And concerning the same matter, he writes in another Letter to

<sup>1</sup> Cum pace nobis omnibus a Domino prius data, ad Ecclesiam regredi cœperimus, tunc examinabuntur singula præsentibus ac iudicantibus vobis. *Epist. 12. ad Plebem*, § 1. p. 37.

the People of his Parish, <sup>1</sup> That when it should please God to restore Peace to the Church, and reduce him from his Exile, that then it should be Examined in their Presence, and accord-

ing to their Judgment.

So that the Consistory Court was composed of the People, as well as of the Bishop, each of whom had a negative Voice therein. On one side, the Bishop could do nothing without the People. So when several returned from the Schism of *Fortunatus*, and Bishop *Cyprian* was willing to receive them into the Churches Peace, he complains of the unwillingness of his People to admit them, and the great difficulties he had to obtain their Consent, as he thus describes it in his Letter to *Cornelius* Bishop of Rome,

<sup>2</sup> O si posses, Frater charissime, istic interesse nobiscum, cum pravi isti & perversi de Schismate revertuntur, videres quis mihi labor sit persuadere patientiam Fratribus no-

*linus* Bishop of Rome, <sup>2</sup> O my dear Brother, if you could be present with me, when those Men return from their Schism,



you would wonder at  
what pains I take to  
perswade our Brethren  
to be patient, that lay-  
ing aside their Grief  
of Mind, they would  
consent to the healing  
and receiving of those that are sick ; I can  
scarce perswade, yea, I extort a Grant from  
my People, that such be received to Commu-  
nion. And on the other side, the People  
could do nothing without the Bishop ;  
as when one of the three Bishops that  
Schismatically Ordained *Novatian*, came  
back to the Church and desired admission,  
the People alone could not receive him,  
without the Consent of the Bishop *Corne-*  
*lius* ; for else they  
would not have <sup>2</sup> so  
earnestly press'd him  
for his permission, as  
we find they did.

stris, ut animi dolore  
sopito recipiendis malis  
curandisque consenti-  
ant; vix plebi persuadeo,  
imo extorqueo, ut tales  
patiantur admitti. *Epist.*  
55. § 17. p. 143.

<sup>2</sup> ὁ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀποστεί-  
λῃ τὸ πᾶν τὸ πᾶν  
τὸ λαόν. *Cornel. apud*  
*Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 43. p.*  
244.

Thus when we have viewed the Mem-  
bers of the Spiritual Court, and have  
proved that they were all the Members,  
or the whole Body of the Church, Cler-  
gy as well as Laity, and Laity as well as  
Clergy ; not one without the other, but  
both together.

M 2

But

But now forasmuch as the People were encumbred with earthly business, and it was not possible that they could constantly give their attendance, and narrowly search into every thing that should be brought before them: Therefore we may suppose, that the Members of the Presbytery, who as was said before, under the Head of Ordination, were to be free from all Worldly Cares and Employments, were appointed as a Committee to prepare matters for the whole Court. An instance whereof we meet with in *Maximus, Urbanus, Sidonius*, and some others, that had joyned in the Schism of *Novatian*, who being sensible of their

<sup>1</sup> In presbyterium venerunt—Quod erat consequens, omnis hic actus populo fuerit infinuandus. *Cyprian. Epist.* 46. § 2, 3. p. 104, 105.

Fault,<sup>1</sup> Came into the Presbytery, and desired the Churches Peace; the Presbytery accepted of their Submission, and proposed it to the whole Church, who readily embraced it.

So that the Presbytery prepared matters for the whole Court, which Court was the Supreme Tribunal within the Limits of that Parish, before whom all matters that there occurred, were tried, and by whom all were judged; only when

when any great and difficult points were decided, 'tis probable it was the custom to desire the Bishops of the neighbouring Parishes to come over, and assist there in Presence, that so their Censures might be the freer from any Imputation of Partiality or Injustice. Thus when a nice Affair was to be determined at Rome, *Cornelius* <sup>1</sup> desired five

Bishops to assist, that so what they did might be firm and indisputable.

<sup>1</sup> Adfuerunt Episcopi quinque — ut firmato consilio, quid circa personam eorum observari deberet, consensu omnium statueretur. *Cornel. ad Cyprian. Epist. 46. § 2. p. 104.*

§ 4. Having thus found out the Members of the Ecclesiastical Tribunal, the next thing to be consider'd, is the manner and Form of their Proceedings in the Exercise of their Judicial Power and Authority, which by *Tertullian* is described to be after this manner: When at their general Assemblies the other parts of Divine Worship were ended, <sup>2</sup> then followed

Exhortations, Re-proofs, and a Divine Censure; for the Judgment is given with

<sup>2</sup> Ibidem etiam exhortationes, castigationes, & censura divina; nam & judicatur magno cum pondere, ut apud certos de Dei con-

M 3

great



spectu, summumque futuri iudicii præjudicium est, si quis ita deliquerit, ut à communicati-  
one orationis, & conventus, & omnis sancti commercii relegetur. Præsident probati quique Seniores, honorem istum non precio sed testimonio adepti. *Apolo-  
log. cap. 39. p. 709.*

*Communion of Prayers, Assemblies, and all Holy Commerce. Approved Elders preside there, who obtained that Honour by Testimony, not by Price. So that when the Consistory was sat, the Bishop and his assisting Presbyters, here called Approved Elders; but commonly the Presbytery presided and moderated all things there proposed and debated. Then the Offenders, if possible, were actually brought before them, (tho the non-appearance of the Criminals was no impediment to their Proceedings) for notwithstanding they condemned them, and censured them not only for those Crimes, for which they were cited to appear, but also for their Contumacy*

*⁊ Spirituali gladio superbi & contumaces necantur, dum de ecclesiâ ejiciuntur. Epist. 62. § 3. p. 170.*

*great weight, as amongst those that are sure, that God beholds what they do; and this is one of the highest Praeludiums and Fore-runners of the Judgment to come, when the Delinquent is banished from the*

*and Stubbornness, as Cyprian writes, 'the Proud and Obstinate are killed with the Spi-  
rit H4*

ritual Sword, whilst they are cast out of the Church; and <sup>1</sup> those that are stubborn and fear not God, but go off from the Church, let no man accompany.

<sup>2</sup> Contumaces & Deum non timentes, & ab Ecclesia in totum recedentes, nemo comitetur. *Epist.* 64. § 4. p. 191.

But yet, I say, if possible, the Offenders personally appeared, that so their Crimes might be objected to them, to which they were to plead, as Cyprian says, that the Lapsed

<sup>2</sup> were to plead their

Cause before the Cler-

gy and the whole

Church. Then the

Court consider'd the

Defendants Plea, as

Cyprian writes, <sup>3</sup> that

all things were debated

<sup>2</sup> Acturi & apud nos, & apud Plebem universam causam suam, *Epist.* 10. § 4. p. 30.

<sup>3</sup> In commune tractabimus. *Epist.* 6. § 5. p. 17.

in common amongst them. And if the Bishop and Majority of the Court judged their Defence insufficient, they were Voted by their common Suffrage to be condemned and censur'd, as Cyprian writes,

that <sup>4</sup> Whoever was

excommunicated, it

was by the Divine

Suffrages of the Peo-

ple. The Delinquent

<sup>4</sup> Secundum vestra divina suffragia conjurati. *Epist.* 40. ad Plebem. § 1. p. 92.

being thus cast or found Guilty, the next

M 4

thing

thing that succeeded, was the formal Declaration of the Sentence of the Court, which was pronounced, as *Tertullian* intimates in that forequoted Passage, by one of the presiding Elders, that is, either by the Bishop or a Presbyter Commission'd by him, the manner of which Pronunciation seems also from that Passage to be thus: He that passed the formal Sentence on the Criminal, first began with *Exhortations*, that is, as we may reasonably suppose, he exhorted the Faithful to use all diligent Care and Fear to avoid those Sins and Crimes, which had brought the Offenders before them to so lamentable and fatal Condition. Then followed Reproofs, which were sharp Rebukes and Reprehensions to the Delinquents for their foul Miscarriages and enormous Practices, setting forth the Evil, Villany and Misery of them; That they were provoking to God, grievous to the Faithful, scandalous to Religion, and in fine, ruining and pernicious to themselves, in that it rendred them obnoxious to that *Divine Censure*, which then immediately, as the Conclusion of all, he formally pronounced on them. Which brings me to the Consideration of the Fourth Query, viz. What the Primitive Censures



Censures were; of which in the following Section.

§ 5. Now in answer hereunto; as the Church, to her Arms were Spiritual; her Thunderbolts consisted in Suspensions and Excommunications, in ejecting and throwing out of the Church her scandalous and rotten Members, not permitting a pre-induction of them, till by visible signs of Repentance they had satisfied for their Crimes and Villanies.

Various are the Appellations that are given to the Sentence of Excommunication in the Writings of the Ancients. By *Dionysius Alexandrinus* it is called,

<sup>1</sup> *A driving away from the Church.* By *Tertullian*, <sup>2</sup> *A casting out from the Churches Communion*, and <sup>3</sup> *a driving from Communion.* By *Cyprian*, <sup>4</sup> *A Separation from the Church*, <sup>5</sup> *An Ejection out of the Church*, <sup>6</sup> *A killing with the Spiritual Sword*, and many other such like Terms occur in the Fathers, all ten-

<sup>1</sup> Ἀπελάσεις τῆς ἐκκλησίας. Apud Euseb. l. 7. c. 7. p. 253.

<sup>2</sup> Ab Ecclesiæ Communicatione abjectus. De Præscript. advers. Heret. p. 95.

<sup>3</sup> A Communicatione depellere. De Monogam. p. 477.

<sup>4</sup> Ab Ecclesia separari, Epist. 38. § 2. p. 90.

<sup>5</sup> De Ecclesia se pel-  
lerent. Epist. 40. § 1. p. 92.

<sup>6</sup> Spirituali gladio necantur. Ep. 62. § 3. p. 170.

ding

ding to describe the Fearfulness and Mi-  
 sery of an Excommunicated State: So  
 tremendous was it, that whosoever was  
 in that condition, was look'd upon  
 as accursed by God, and really was so by  
 Men, who esteem'd him as a Limb of Sa-  
 tan, and a Member of the Devil, shun-  
 ning his Company as they did the Plague,

<sup>1</sup> Contumaces & De-  
 um non timentes, & ab  
 Ecclesia in totum rece-  
 dentes, nemo comitetur.  
*Epist. 65. § 4. p. 191.*

or any other infe-  
 ctious Disease, <sup>1</sup> Those,  
 says Cyprian, that are  
 Proud, and fear not  
 God, but go off from  
 the Church, let no man

accompany. And therefore Irenæus speak-  
 ing concerning the Hereticks, who were

<sup>2</sup> Quos Paulus jubet  
 nobis devitare, Joannes  
 enim non Ave nobis eis  
 dici volens. Qui enim  
 dicit, inquit, eis Ave,  
 communicat operibus  
 eorum nequissimis. *Lib.*  
*1. cap. 13. p. 63.*

all Excommunica-  
 ted, says, <sup>2</sup> That ac-  
 cording to the Com-  
 mand of Paul, we  
 must avoid them; and  
 John forbids us so  
 much as to wish them  
 God speed, since by so

doing we communicate with their Evil Works.  
 And Tertullian in that forementioned

<sup>3</sup> A communicatione  
 orationis & conventus,  
 & omnis sancti com-  
 mercii relegetur. *Apol.*  
*c. 39. p. 709.*

place writes, <sup>3</sup> That  
 the Delinquent was ba-  
 nished from the Com-  
 munion of Prayers,  
 Assem.

*Assemblies, and all holy Converse ; being look't upon as one unworthy of humane Society, cast out of the Church of God here ; and if impenitently dying in that condition, as certainly excluded the Kingdom of God hereafter. For as Origen writes on Matthew 18.18. on which Text Excommunication is founded , ' He that is condemned and bound by the Church on Earth , remains bound, none in Heaven unloosing him.*

Ἵ Ο τιστὶ δεδεμμένῳ  
ὑπὸ τῆς τριῆς, μένει δε-  
δεμμένῳ, ἕως ἃν ᾖ  
ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἀναλύοντῶ  
τῶ δεδεμμένῳ αὐτῶ  
τῶ Ἰησοῦ. Comment.  
in Matth. Tom. 13. p.  
336. Vol. 1.

§ 6. No wonder then that Men in their right Senses were affrightned at the tremendous Misery of an Excommunicated Condition, and that when through their corrupt Natures and wicked Practices they had incurred that Sentence, they never left Fasting, Watching, Weeping, and the endurance of the severest Courses of Mortification, till they were absolved from it, and reinstated in God and the Churches Favour. Which brings me in the next place to search into the Course that Offenders took to be received into the Church again, the usual Method whereof seems to have been thus ;

Al!



All those that desired to be delivered from that miserable state, in the first place in a most penitent and humble manner came weeping and crying unto the Church-doors, where they lay groveling on the Ground, prostrating themselves at the Feet of the Faithful as they went into Church, and begging their Prayers to God for them. The Behaviour of these Men is thus elegantly express'd by the Clergy of the Church of *Rome* in a Letter to Cy-

<sup>1</sup> Pulsent sane fores, sed non utiq; confringant; adeant ad limen Ecclesie, sed non utiq; transiliant. Castrorum coelestium excubent portis, sed armati modestia, qua intelligant se desertores fuisse. Resumant precum suarum tubam, sed qua non bellicum clangant. Arment se quidem modestiae telis, & quem negando mortis metu fidei demiserant, clipeum resumant, sed ut contra hostem Diabolum vel nunc armati non contra Ecclesiam, quæ illorum dolet casus, armatos se esse credant. Multum illis proficiet petitio modesta,

*prian, Let them, say they, knock at the Church-doors, but not break them; let them come to the Threshold of the Church, but not pass over it; let them watch at the Gates of the Celestial Tents, but armed with Modesty, by which they may remember they were Deserters; let them resume the Trumpet of their Prayers, but not to sound an Alarm to Battle; let them arm themselves with the Darts*

Darts of Modesty, and retake that Shield, which by their Apostacy they lost, that so they may be armed, not against the Church, which grieves at their Misery, but against their Adversary the Devil; a modest Petition, a bashful Supplication, a necessary Humility, and an Industrious Patience will be advantageous to them; let them express their grief by their Tears, and their sorrow and shame for their Crimes by their Groans. So Tertullian in the same manner describes one in this state, ' by lying in Sackcloth and Ashes, by having a squalid Body, and a dejected Soul, by fasting, praying, weeping, groaning, and roaring night and day; by throwing himself at the Clergies feet, and kneeling before the Faithful, begging and desiring their Prayers and Pardon,

postulatio verecunda, humilitas necessaria, patientia non otiosa; mittant legatos pro suis doloribus lacrymas; ad vocatione fungantur ex intimo pectore prolati gemitus, dolorem probantes commissi criminis & pudorem. Epist. 31. apud Cyprian. § 7. p. 71.

' Sacco & cineri incubare, corpus fordibus obscurare, animum mæroribus dejicere, — jejuniis preces alere, ingemiscere, lachrymari, & mugire dies noctesq; — Presbyteris advolvi, & caris Dei adgeniculari, omnibus fratribus legationes deprecationis suæ injungere. De Penitentia, p. 381.

§ 7. If the Ecclesiastical Court thought their Repentance to be real, and those external Expressions of Sorrow and Grief to proceed from suitable Affections of Heart, then they began to encline to some Terms of Remission and Reconciliation, and gave the Delinquents some hopes of it, by admitting them to come into the Church, and to stay at some part of Divine Service, but not at the whole of it, to communicate with the Faithful, till they had for a long space of time, which they then imposed on them, by their humble and modest Carriage gave good Proofs of their Sorrow and Repentance.

This Fixed Time of Trial was called the Time of Penance, during which the Penitent, as he was now called, appeared in all the Formalities of Sorrow, with a course Habit, and a dejected Countenance, continually fasting and praying, lamenting and bemoaning the greatness and aggravations of his Sin and Wickedness, as may be seen in sundry places of the Fathers, all which to transcribe would be very tedious; wherefore I shall content my self with Translating a few Elegancies pertinent to this purpose, out of *Cyprian's Book De Lapsis*, wherein he thus inveighs



inveighs against those, who in a state of Penance indulged themselves in the Delights and Enjoyments of the Flesh,

*Can we think that that man weeps with his whole Heart, and with Fastings, Tears, and Sighs beseeches God, who from the very first day of his Offence daily frequents the Baths, who indulging to his gluttonous Appetite this day, vomits up his undigested Crudities the next day, and does not communicate of his Meat*

<sup>1</sup> Lamentari eum putamus ex toto corde jejuniis, fletibus, planctibus Dominum deprecari; qui ex primo criminis die lavacra quotidie celebrat, qui epulis affluentibus pastus, & sagina largiore distentus, cruditates suas postridie ructat, nec cibos & potus suos cum pauperum necessitate communicat? Qui hilaris ac lætus incedit, quomodo mortem suam deflet? An illa ingemiscit & plangit, cui vacat cultum pretiosæ vestis induere, nec indumentum Christi, quod perdidit, cogitare?

Accipere pretiosa ornamenta & monilia elaborata, nec Divini & Cœlestis ornatus damna deflere; tu licet indumenta peregrina & vestes sericas induas, nuda es; auro te licet & margaritis gemmisque condecores, sine Christi decore deformis es. Et quæ capillos tuos inficis, vel nunc in doloribus desine, & quæ nigri pulveris ductu oculorum liniamenta depingis, vel nunc lacrymis oculos tuos ablue. Si quem de tuis charis mortali exitu perdidisses, ingemisceres dolenter, & fletes: Facie inculta, veste mutata, neglecto capillo, vultu nubilo, ore dejecto indicia mæroris ostenderes, animam tuam misera perdidisti — Et non acriter plangis, non jugiter ingemiscis? § 24, 25. p. 285.

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and Drink to the necessities of the Poor? He that goes gay and jocund, how doth he bewail his Death? Does that Woman weep and mourn, who spends her time in putting on splendid Garments, and does not think upon the Garment of Christ, which she lost? Who seeks after precious Ornaments and rich Jewels, and does not bewail the loss of the Heavenly and Divine adorning? Although thou puttest on exotick Garbs and silken Garments, thou art naked; although thou beautifyest thy self with Gold and Pearls, without the Beauty of Christ thou art deformed: And thou who dyest thine Hair, now leave it off in this time of Penance; and thou who paintest thine Eyes, wash it off with thy Tears. If thou shouldst lose any one of thy dear Friends by Death, thou wouldst sorrowfully weep and howl, and express the greatness of thy Sorrow by thy disregarded Face, mourning Garments, neglected Hair, cloudy Countenance, and dejected Visage. Why, O Wretch, thou hast lost thy Soul, and wilt not thou bitterly weep, and continually lament?

<sup>1</sup> Orare oportet impensius & rogare, diem luctu transigere, vigiliis noctes ac fletibus ducere, tempus omne lachrymosis lamentationibus

<sup>1</sup> Now therefore pray and supplicate more earnestly, pass the day in weeping, the night in watching and crying, both night and day

day in Tears and Lamentations, prostrate your selves upon the Ground, roll your selves in dust and ashes; after having lost the Garment of Christ, have no cloathing here; having tasted the Devil's Meat, chuse now to fast.

occupare, stratos solo adherere cineri, in cilicio & sordibus volutari: post indumentum Christi perditum, nullum hic jam velle vestitum: post Diaboli cibum male jejunium. § 28. p. 286.

§ 8. How long these Penitentiary Stations were, cannot be defined, since they differed according to the Quality of the Offence and the Offender, according to the Circumstance of Time, and the Will and Pleasure of the Ecclesiastical Court who imposed them; some were in the state of Penance two years, some three, some five, some ten, some more, some even to their Lives ends; but how long and rigorous soever their Penance was, they were patiently, humbly, and thankfully to endure it the whole time, being not absolved, till they had undergone

the legal and full time of Satisfaction.

Legitimum & plenum tempus satisfactionis.

Cyprian. Epist. 59. § 1. p. 164.

It is true indeed, that in some extraordinary Cases the Prudence of the Church

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saw



saw fit to dispense with the usual length and Severity of their inflicted Discipline

<sup>1</sup> Urgere exitus coeperit. *Apud Cyprian. Epist. 13. § 1. p. 39.*

<sup>2</sup> Lapsis pacem dandam esse, & eos ad prælium, quod imminet, armari & instrui oportere. *Apud Cyprian. Epist. 54. § 1. p. 132.*

as in <sup>1</sup> *Case of Deaths*  
<sup>2</sup> *of an approaching Persecution, or, when a great multitude, and eminent leading persons were concerned in the same Offence as in the case of Trophimus,* which

may be seen in the 52d Epistle of *Cyprian*. Besides these, the Confessors claimed the Priviledg of restoring Penitents before the usual time; which irregular and unreasonable Practice of theirs caused great Disturbances to the Church of *Carthage* in the days of *Cyprian*, which may be seen at large in several Epistles extant in the beginning of his Works.

But laying aside these unusual Circumstances, the fixed Period of Penance was never anticipated; but how long and severe soever it was, the Penitent cheerfully submitted to it.

When the appointed time of Penance was ended, the Penitent applyed himself to the Ecclesiastical Court for Absolution, who

who <sup>1</sup> Examined his  
Demeanours and Acti-  
ons, which if they  
approved and liked,  
they then proceeded to the formal absolv-  
ing of him, of which in the following Sec-  
tions.

<sup>1</sup> Inspecta vita ejus qui  
agit poenitentiam. *Cypr.*  
*Epist. 12. § 1. p. 37.*

§ 9. On the appointed day for Abso-  
lution, the Penitent, or he that was now  
to be absolved, came into the Church  
mourning and weeping, and expressing  
all external Indications of his Internal  
Sorrow: As when *Natalis*, a Roman  
Confessor, was absolved for his joyn-  
ing with the *Theodotian* Hereticks; he  
came into the Church, as it is related by  
an ancient nameless

Christian, <sup>2</sup> covered  
with Sackcloth and  
Ashes, throwing him-  
self at the Feet of the  
Clergy and Laity, and  
with Tears in his Eyes  
begging their pardon  
and forgiveness. It

<sup>2</sup> Ἐν δὲ σάκκῳ σάκ-  
κον καὶ σποδὴν καταπα-  
σάμενος, καὶ πολλὰς  
σποδὸς καὶ δακρύων,  
προσπεσὼν κληρῶ καὶ τῇ  
λαϊκῶν-- πολλοῖς τῇ  
δεήσει χρησάμενος. A-  
pud *Euseb. l. 5. c. 28. p.*  
*197.*

being looked upon as very proper, that  
they should be admitted into the Church  
by Tears, not by  
Threats; by Prayers,  
and not by Curses.

<sup>3</sup> Non minis sed pre-  
cibus & lamentationi-  
bus. *Cyprian. Ep. 55. § 18.*  
*p. 143.*

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Hence

Hence at this time for the greater Demonstration of their Sorrow and Humility, they were to make a publick Confession of their Sin, styled by them *Exomologesis*, which was, as *Cyprian* saith,

<sup>1</sup> *Exomologesin gravissimi atque extremi delicti. Epist. 11. § 1. p. 32.*

much as it was the Source and Spring of all true Repentance. For as *Tertullian*

<sup>2</sup> *Satisfactio confessione disponitur, confessione poenitentia nascitur. De Poenitentia, p. 380.*

<sup>3</sup> *Epist. 10. § 2. p. 30. Epist. 11. § 1. p. 32.*

<sup>4</sup> *Tantum relevat confessio delictum, quantum dissimulatio exag-gerat; confessio enim satisfactionis consilium est, dissimulatio contumaciae. De Poenitentia. p. 380.*

the Advice of Satisfaction, Dissimulation of Contumacy. And therefore he condemns those, who through shame deferred from day to day the Publication of their Sin,

<sup>1</sup> *A Confession of their great and heinous Crime, and was a necessary Antecedent to Absolution, inas-*  
<sup>2</sup> *much as it was the Source and Spring of all true Repentance. For as Tertullian observes, Out of Confession is born Repentance, and by Confession comes Satisfaction. And in many places of Cyprian the necessity of Confession is asserted; for as Tertullian says, Confession as much diminishes the Fault, as Dissimulation aggravates it; Confession is*



Sin, as <sup>1</sup> more mind-  
ful of their shame-  
facedness, than of  
their Salvation: Like  
those who have a Di-  
sease in their Secret  
Parts, through shame  
conceal it from the  
Chyrurgeons, and so

<sup>1</sup> Pudoris magis me-  
mores quam Salutis  
lucili qui in  
verecundia  
ris co  
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un  
erebeice  
unt. De Penitencia,  
p. 382.

with their Modesty dy and perish Con-  
fession therefore being so necessary, the  
greatest Offenders were not exempted  
from it; as when Philip the Emperor, as  
Eusebius calls him, or rather Philip a Pre-  
fect of Egypt, would have joyned with the  
faithful in the Churches Prayer, Bishop Ba-  
bylas denied him admission because of his  
enormous Crimes; nor would he receive  
him, till he had made

<sup>2</sup> Ἐξομολογήσασθαι  
Apud Euseb. lib. 6. cap.  
34 p. 232.

<sup>1</sup> a Publick Confession  
of his Faults. And  
accordingly when  
one of those Bishops that Schismatically  
Ordained Novatian, returned as a Peni-  
tent, he came into the Church weeping,  
and <sup>1</sup> Confessing his  
Sin; where we may  
observe that it is  
said in the singular  
Number, his Sin,

<sup>1</sup> Ἐξομολογήσασθαι  
τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἀνέστημα.  
Cornel. apud Euseb. lib.  
6. c. 43. p. 243.

τὸ ἐαυτὸ ἀμάρτημα, which intimates, that the Penitents Confession was not only general, or for all his Sins in the gross; but it was particular, for that special Sin for which he was censured; consonant whereunto Cyprian, as before quoted, writes,

<sup>1</sup> Exomologesin gravissimi atque extremi delicti. *Epist.* 11. § 1. p. 32.

severely punished.

This Confession of the Penitents was made with all the outward Signs of Sorrow and Grief, which usually so affected the Faithful, as that they sympathized with them in mourning and weeping. Whence *Tertullian* exhorts the Penitent not through shame to conceal, but from a true Godly Disposition, to confess his Fault before the whole Church, and to

<sup>2</sup> Ergo cum te ad fratrum genua protendis-- atque illi cum super te lacrymas agunt. *De Penitentia*, p. 382.

weep and mourn for it,<sup>2</sup> since they being his Brethren would also weep with and over him. And so from the same consideration Cyprian exhorted the Lapsed to this Penitent

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penitent Confession,  
with our Tears, faith  
we, joyn your Tears ;  
with our Groans couple  
our Groans.

<sup>1</sup> Cum lacrymis no-  
stris vestras lacrymas  
jungite; cum nostro ge-  
mitu, vestros gemitus  
copulate. *De Lapsis*, §  
27. p. 285.

§ 10. As soon as Confession was over,  
then followed the formal Absolution,  
which was thus: The Person to be ab-  
solved, kneeled down before the Bishop  
and the Clergy, who put their Hands up-  
on his Head, and blest'd him ; by which  
external Ceremony the Penitent was de-  
claratively and formally admitted to the  
Churches Peace. Thus *Cyprian* writes,

that they <sup>2</sup> received  
the Right of Commu-  
nion by the Imposition  
of Hands of the Bish-  
op and his Clergy.  
And that <sup>3</sup> no one  
can be admitted to  
Communion, unless the  
Bishop and Clergy  
have imposed Hands  
on him. This being

<sup>2</sup> Per impositionem  
manus Episcopi & Cleri  
jus communicationis ac-  
cipiunt. *Epist.* 10. § 2.  
p. 30.

<sup>3</sup> Nec ad Communi-  
cationem venire quis  
possit, nisi prius illi & ab  
Episcopo & Clero ma-  
nus fuit imposita. *Epist.*  
12. § 1. p. 37.

accounted the third and last general Re-  
quisite for the reconciling of Offenders,  
the two former being the undergoing a



state of Penance, and a publick Confession of their Sin; all which three are frequently mentioned together as such by

<sup>1</sup> Agant peccatores pœnitentiam iusto tempore, & secundum discipline ordinem ad exomologesin veniant, & per impositionem manus Episcopi & Cleri ius communicationis accipiant. *Epist. 10. § 2. p. 30.*

and Clergy, let them receive the Right of Communion. And in other places he complains of the irregular and unadvised Actions of some of his Presbyters, that they admitted some of the Lapsed to

<sup>1</sup> Ante actam pœnitentiam, ante Exomologesin gravissimi atque extremi delicti factam, ante manum ab Episcopo & Clero in pœnitentiam impositam, offerre lapsis pacem, & Eucharistiam dare audeant.

*Epist. 11. § 1. p. 32. and*

*almost the same words are repeated, Epist. 12. § 1. p. 37.*

*Cyprian, as where he says, <sup>1</sup> Let Offenders do Penance a set space of time, and according to the Order of Discipline let them come to Confession, and by Imposition of Hands of the Bishop*

*Communion, <sup>2</sup> before they had undergone a due Penance, made a Publick Confession of their Sin, and had Hands imposed on them by the Bishop and Clergy.*

§ 11. After the Penitents were absolved by imposition of Hands, then they were received into the Communion of the Faithful, and made Partakers again of all those Priviledges, which by their Crimes they had for a while forfeited: Only when an offending Clergy-man was absolved, he only was restored to Communion as a Lay-man, but never readmitted to his Ecclesiastical Dignity. Thus when one of the Schismatical Bishops, that Ordained *Novatian*, returned to the Church, he was deprived of his Ecclesiastical Office, and admitted only to

*Lay-Communion*. So likewise Apostate or Lapsed Bishops were never restored again to their Office.

<sup>1</sup> Ἐκοινώνησαν ὡς λαϊκοῖ. Cornel. apud Euseb. lib.6. cap.43. p. 243.

The Reasons whereof may be seen in the 6<sup>th</sup> Epistle of *Cyprian*. And therefore

*Basilides* a lapsed Bishop <sup>2</sup> would have been extremely glad, if the Church would but have permitted him to communicate as a Lay-

<sup>2</sup> Satis sibi gratulans, si sibi vel Laico communicare contingeret. Apud *Cyprian*. Epist.68. §7. p.202.

man. But yet I suppose that for every Fault Clergymen were not deprived of their

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their Orders, but only according to the Greatness of their Crimes, and the aggravation of them, since I find that *Maximus* a Presbyter of the Church of *Rome*, who had been deluded into the Schism of *Novatian*, was upon his Submission <sup>restored by</sup>

<sup>Maximum Presbyterum locum suum agnoscere jussimus.</sup> *Cornelius* to his former Office.

*apud Cyprian. Epist. 46. § 4. p. 105.*

CHAP.



## CHAP. VIII.

- § 1. *Of the Independency of Churches:*  
 § 2. *Of the Dependency of Churches.*  
 § 3. *Of Synods, and the several kinds of them.* § 4. *How often Synods were convened.*  
 § 5. *Who were the Members of Synods.*  
 § 6. *By whose Authority Synods were convened.* § 7. *When convened, the manner of their Proceedings, a Moderator first chosen, what the Moderators Office was.* § 8. *Then they entred upon business, which had relation either to Foreign Churches, or their own; with respect to Foreign Churches their Acts were only advising.* § 9. *With respect to their own Churches obliging. The End and Power of Synods enquired into.*

§ 1. **T**O that large Discourse of the Primitive Discipline, which was the Subject of the preceeding Chapter, it will be necessary to add this Observation, that all those judicial Acts were exerted in and by every single Parish, every particular Church having Power to exercise Discipline on her own Members, without the Concurrence of other Churches; else in those places where there

there might be but one Church for several Miles round, which we may reasonably suppose, the Members of that Church must have travelled several, if not Scores of Miles, to have had the consent of other Churches, for the Punishment of their Offenders: But there is no need to make this Supposition, since it was decreed by an *African Synod*,

<sup>1</sup> Statutum sit omnibus nobis, & æquum sit pariter ac justum, ut unius cujusque causa illic audiat, ubi est crimen admissum, & singulis pastoribus portio gregis sit adscripta, quam regat unusquisq; & gubernet rationem sui ætus Domino redditurus. *Apud Cyprian. Epist. 55. § 16. p. 142.*

<sup>1</sup> that every ones Cause should be heard where the Crime was committed, because that to every Pastor was committed a particular Portion of Christ's Flock, which he was particularly to rule and govern, and to render an account thereof unto the Lord.

And so another *African Synod* that decreed the Rebaptization of those that were Baptized by Hereticks, thus conclude their Synodical Epistle to Pope Stephen, who held the contrary,

<sup>2</sup> Cæterum scimus quosdam quod semel imberint nolle deponere, nec propositum suum facile mutare, sed salvo

<sup>2</sup> Whereas we know that some Bishops will not relinquish an Opinion, which they have

have embraced, but keeping the Bond of Peace and Concord with their Colleagues, will retain some proper and peculiar Sentiments, which they have formerly received; to these we offer no violence, or prescribe any Law, since every Bishop has in the administration of his Church free liberty to follow his own Will, being to render an account of his Actions unto the Lord.

After these two Synodical Determinations, it might be thought needless to produce the single Testimony of *Cyprian*, but that it shews us not only the practice of the Bishops of his Age, but also of their Predecessors.

Amongst the ancient Bishops of our Province, saith he, some thought that no peace was to be given to Adulterers, for ever excluding them from the Communion of the

inter Collegas pacis & concordiae vinculo, quædam propria, quæ apud se semel sint usurpata, retinere, qua in re nec nos vim cuiquam facimus, aut legem damus, cum habeat in Ecclesiæ administratione voluntatis suæ arbitrium liberum unusquisque præpositus, rationem actus sui Domino redditurus.

*Apud Cyprian. Epist. 72.*

§ 3. p. 217.

Apud antecessores nostros quidam de Episcopis istic in provincia nostra dandam pacem mœchis non putaverunt & in totum pœnitentiæ locum contra adulteria clauserunt, non tamen a Coepiscoporum suorum collegio recesserunt.

*Church,*



runt, aut Catholicæ Ecclesiæ unitatem vel duritiæ vel censuræ suæ obstinatione ruperunt, ut quia apud alios adulteris pax dabatur, qui non dabat de Ecclesia separaretur, manente concordie vinculo & perseverante Catholicæ Ecclesiæ individuo Sacramento, actum suum disponit & dirigit unusquisque Episcopus, rationem propositi sui Domino redditurus. *Epist.* 52. § 13. p. 118.

*unto the Lord.*

Thus every Church was in this Sense independent, that is, without the Concurrence and Authority of any other Church; it had a sufficient Right and Power in its self to punish and chastise all its delinquent and offending Members.

§ 2. But yet in another Sense it was dependent, as considered with other Churches, as part of the Church Universal, <sup>1</sup> *There is but one Church of Christ, saith*

<sup>1</sup> Cum sit a Christo una Ecclesia per totum mundum in multa membra divisa, item episcopatus unus Episcoporum multorum concordie numerositate diffusus. *Epist.* 52. § 13. p. 118.

*Church; but yet they did not leave their Fellow-Bishops, or for this break the Unity of the Catholick Church; and those that gave Peace to Adulterers, did not therefore separate from those that did not, but still retaining the Bond of Concord, every Bishop disposed and directed his own Acts, rendring an account of them*

Cyprian, divided through the whole World into many Members, and one Episcopacy diffused through the numerous Concord of many Bishops. A Particular Church was not the whole Church of Christ, but only a Part or Member of the Universal one; and as one Member of the natural Body hath a regard to all the other Members thereof, so a particular Church, which was but one Member of the Universal, had relation and respect to the other Members thereof. Hence though the Labours and Inspections of the Bishops were more peculiarly confined to their own Parishes, yet as Ministers of the Church Universal, they employed a general kind of Inspection over other Churches also, observing their Condition and Circumstances, and giving unto them an account of their own state and posture; as Cyprian inspected that of Arles, giving this as his Reason

for it, that <sup>1</sup> although they were many Parishes, yet they were but one Flock, and they ought to congregate and cherish all the Sheep, which Christ redeemed by his Blood

<sup>1</sup> Nam etsi pastores multi sumus, unum tamen gregem pascimus, & oves universas quas Christus sanguine suo & passione quæsit, colligere & fovere debemus. Epist. 67. § 6. pag. 199.

and

and Passion. And the Clergy of the Church of Rome thanked Cyprian, that he had acquainted them with the State of the Church in *Africa*; for say they

<sup>1</sup> Omnes enim nos decet pro corpore totius Ecclesiæ, cujus per varias quasque provincias membra digesta sunt, excubare. *Apud Cyprian. Epist. 30. § 4. p. 67.*

<sup>1</sup> We ought all of us to take care of the Body of the whole Church, whose Members are distended through various Provinces. If the Bishop of one Church had

any difficult Point to determine, he sent to another Bishop for his Advice and Decision thereof. As when *Dionysius* Bishop of *Alexandria* had a critical Cause to determine, he sent to *Xystus* Bishop of Rome,

<sup>2</sup> Καὶ ὅντως ἀδελοῦ συμβολῆς δέομαι, καὶ γνώμην αὐτοῦ ὁρᾶσθαι. *Apud Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 9. p. 254.*

<sup>2</sup> to know his Opinion and Counsel therein. And so when there was some difference at *Carthage* about the Pacificatory Li-

bels of the Martyrs, *Cyprian* writ to the Church of Rome for their Advice therein.

<sup>3</sup> Et dilectio communis & ratio exposcit, fratres charissimi, nihil conscientie vestre subtrahere de his quæ apud nos geruntur, ut sit nobis circa utilitatem ecclesiasticæ administrationis commune consilium. *Epist. 29. p. 66.*

For saith he, <sup>3</sup> Dear-ly beloved Brethren, both common Reason



and Love require, that none of these things that are transacted here, should be kept from your Knowledge, but that we should have your Counsel about Ecclesiastical Administrations. In these and in many other such like Cases, which would be needless to enumerate, there was a Correspondence between the particular Churches of the Universal one.

§ 3. But that that chiefly deserves our Consideration, was their Intercourse and Government by Synodical Assemblies, that is, by a Convocation of Bishops, Presbyters, Deacons, and Deputed Lay-men of several particular Churches, who frequently met together to maintain Unity, Love and Concord, to advise about their common Circumstances and Conditions, to regulate all Ecclesiastical or Church-Affairs within their respective Limits, and to manage other such like things, of which I shall more largely treat in the end of this Chapter.

That which must be spoken of in this Section is, the several kinds or sorts of Synods, the most august and supreme kind whereof was an Universal or Oecumenical Synod, which was a Congregation of the Bishops and Deputies of as many

ny Churches as would please to come from all Parts of the World : Of this sort I find but one within my limited space of the first three Hundred years after Christ, and that

<sup>1</sup> Apud Euseb. lib. 7. was the <sup>1</sup> Council of cap. 30. p. 279. *Antioch*, that condemned *Paulus Samosatenus*.

Or if this will not pass for a General Council, there was no such one before that of *Nice*, which was held *Anno* 325. and so there was no one of this kind within that time to which I am confined.

But those Synods, which were very frequent within my prescribed time, were Provincial Synods, that is, as many particular Churches as could conveniently and orderly associate themselves together, and by their common Consent and Authority dispose and regulate all things that related to their Polity, Unity, Peace and Order. What extent of Ground, or how many particular Churches each of such Synods did contain, cannot be determined; their Precincts were not alike in all places, but according as their Circumstances and Conveniencies would permit; so they formed themselves into these Synodical Assemblies, and were governed

verned in common by those Synods, who were called the Synods of such or such a Province: As we read in *Cyprian* of the Province of Arles, and the Bishops therein. And *Cyprian* frequently speaks of the Bishops of his Province, as the Bishops <sup>2</sup> in our Province, and <sup>3</sup> throughout our Province, and <sup>4</sup> throughout the Province: And tells us, that <sup>5</sup> his Province was very large, and that it was <sup>6</sup> the custom of his Province, and almost all other Provinces, that upon the Vacancy of a Parish, the neighbouring Bishops of that Province should meet together at that Parish to Ordain them a new Bishop.

<sup>1</sup> Coepiscopis nostris in eadem provincia constitutis, *Epist.* 67. § 1. p. 198.

<sup>2</sup> In provincia nostra. *Epist.* 52. § 13. p. 118.

<sup>3</sup> Per provinciam nostram. *Epist.* 42. § 2. p. 99.

<sup>4</sup> Per provinciam. *Epist.* 55. § 18. p. 143.

<sup>5</sup> Latius fusa est nostra provincia. *Epist.* 45. § 2. p. 103.

<sup>6</sup> Apud nos & fere per provincias universas tenetur, ut--- ad eam plebem cui præpositus ordinatur Episcopi ejusdem provinciæ proximi quique conveniant. *Ep.* 68. § 6. p. 202.

§ 4. How often these Provincial Synods were convened, is uncertain, since that varied according to their Circumstances, and their respective Customs.



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*Firmilian* Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*, writes, that in his Province

<sup>1</sup> they met every year.

<sup>1</sup> Per singulos annos  
in unum conveniamus.  
*Apud Cyprian. Epist. 75.*  
§ 3. p. 236.

And whosoever will  
consider the fre-  
quent Synods that  
are mentioned in *Cy-*

*prian*, will find that in his Province they  
met at least once, and sometimes twice  
or thrice a year.

§ 5. As for the Members that com-  
posed these Synods, they were Bishops,  
Presbyters, Deacons, and Deputed Lay-  
men in behalf of the People of their re-  
spective Churches. Thus at that great  
Synod of *Antioch*, that condemned *Pau-*

*lus Samosatenus*, there

<sup>2</sup> Ἐπίσκοποι καὶ πρεσ-  
βύτεροι καὶ διάκονοι, καὶ  
αἱ ἐκκλησίαι τῆς Θεοῦ.  
*Ex Epist. Synod. apud*  
*Euseb. l. 7. c. 30. p. 279.*

were present <sup>2</sup> Bi-  
shops, Presbyters, Dea-  
cons, and the Churches  
of God, that is, Lay-  
men that represent-

ed the People of their several Churches.  
So also we read in an ancient Fragment  
in *Eusebius*, that when the Heresie of  
the *Montanists* was fix'd and broach'd,

<sup>3</sup> τῶν γὰρ καὶ τῶν Ἀ-  
σίαν πρῶτον-εἰς τὸ τοῦ  
ἐκκλησιῶν, &c. *Apud Eu-*  
*seb. lib. 5. cap. 16. p. 181*

<sup>3</sup> the Faithful in Asia  
met together several  
times to examine it,  
and

and upon examination condemned it. So also when there were some Heats in the Church of Carthage about the Restitution of the Lapsed, Cyprian writes from his Exile, that the Lapsed should be patient till God had restored Peace to the Church, and then there should

<sup>1</sup> be convened a Synod of Bishops, and of the Laity who had stood firm during the Persecution, to consult about, and determine

their Affairs. Which Proposition was approved by Moses and Maximus, and other Roman Confessors, who liked

<sup>2</sup> the consulting of a Synod of Bishops, Presbyters, Deacons, Confessours, and the standing Laity, as also did the whole Body of the Clergy of the Church of Rome, who were willing, that that Affair <sup>3</sup> of the Lapsed should be determined by the common Counsel

ac stantibus Laicis facta, lapsorum tractare rationem. Apud Cyprian. Epist. 31. § 5. p. 70.

<sup>1</sup> Ut Episcopi plures in unum convenientes, præsente & stantium plebe--- disponere omnia consilii communis religione possumus. Ep. 14. § 2. p. 41.

<sup>2</sup> Consultis omnibus Episcopis, Presbyteris, Diaconibus, Confessoribus, & ipsis stantium Laicis. Apud Cyprian. Epist. 26. § 4. p. 60.

<sup>3</sup> Collatione consiliorum cum Episcopis, Presbyteris, Diaconis, Confessoribus, pariter

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of the Bishops, Presbyters, Deacons, Confessors, and the standing Laity. And thus at that great Council held at Carthage, Anno 258. there were present Fourscore

and Seven <sup>1</sup> Bishops, together with Presbyters, Deacons, and a great part of the Laity.

<sup>1</sup> Episcopi plurimorum Presbyteris & Diaconibus, præsente etiam plebis maxima parte. *Act. Concil. Carthag. apud Cyprian. p. 443.*

§ 6. If it shall be demanded by whose Authority and Appointment Synods were assembled. To this it will be replied, That it must necessarily have been by their own, because in those days there was no Christian Magistrate to order or determin those Affairs.

§ 7. When a Synod was convened, before ever they entred upon any Publick Causes, they chose out of the gravest and renownedst Bishops amongst them, one, or sometimes two, to be their Moderator or Moderators; as at the Council held at Carthage, Anno

<sup>1</sup> *Act. Concil. Carthag. ad Calcem oper. Cypr.*

258. <sup>2</sup> Cyprian was Moderator or Prolocutor thereof.

And so we read of the Prolocutors of several



several Synods, that were assembled in divers parts of the World, to determine the Controversies concerning Easter: As

<sup>1</sup> Victor Bishop of

Rome was Prolocu-

tor of a Synod held

there. Palmas Bishop

of Amastris Moderator of a Synod held in

Pontus; and Irenæus Bishop of Lyons of

another in France.

<sup>2</sup> Polycrates Bishop

of Ephesus presided

over a Synod of Asi-

atick Bishops; and <sup>3</sup> at

a Convocation in Pa-

lestina there were

two Moderators, viz. Theophilus Bishop of

Cæsarea, and Narcissus Bishop of Jerusa-

lem. The Office and Duty of a Modera-

tor was to preside in the Synod, to see

all things calmly and fairly debated and

decreed; and at the conclusion of any

Cause, to sum up what had been deba-

ted and urged on both sides, to take the

Votes and Suffrages of the Members of

the Synod; and last of all, to give his

own. All this is evident in the Proceed-

ings of the Council of Carthage, which

are extant at the end of Cyprian's

Works, Cyprian being Moderator of that

Council:

<sup>1</sup> Apud Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 23. p. 190, 191.

<sup>2</sup> Apud Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 24. p. 191.

<sup>3</sup> Apud Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 23. p. 190.

Council : After all things were read and finished relating to the Question in hand, sums up all, telling the Synod what they had heard, and that nothing more remained to be done, but the Declaration of their Judgment thereupon. Accordingly thereunto the Bishops gave their respective Votes and Decisions; and last of all *Cyprian*, as President, gave in his.

§ 8. When the Moderator was chosen, then they entred upon the consideration of the Affairs that lay before them, which may be consider'd in a two-fold respect, either as relating to Foreign Churches, or to those Churches only of whom they were the Representatives. As for Foreign Churches, their Determinations were not obligatory unto them, because they were not represented by them; and so the chiefest matter they had to do with them, was to give them their Advice and Counsel in any difficult Point, which they had proposed to them; as when the People of *Astorga* and *Emerita* in *Spain* had written to some African Churches for their Advice, what to do with their two Bishops, who had lapsed in times of Persecution. This Case was debated in a Synod held *Anno* 258. whose

Opinion

Opinion thereupon is to be seen in their Synodical Epistle, extant at large amongst the Works of Cyprian.

<sup>1</sup> Epist. 68. p. 200.

§ 9. But with respect unto those particular Churches whose Representatives they were, their Decrees were binding and obligatory, since the Regulation and Management of their Affairs was the general End of their Convening.

Various and many were the particular Ends of these Synodical Conventions, as for the Prevention of Injustice and Partiality in a Parish Consistory : As suppose, that such a Consistory had wrongfully and unrighteously censured one of their Members, what should that censured Person do, unless appeal to the Synod to have his Cause heard there, as *Felicissimus* did, who after he was excommunicated by his own Parish, of which *Cyprian* was Bishop,

<sup>2</sup> had his Cause heard before a Synod, who ratified and confirmed the Sentence of Excommunication against him. And therefore we may suppose it to be for the preventi-

<sup>2</sup> Literas ad te collegæ nostri manu sua subscriptas miserunt, qui auditis eis, quid senserint, & quid pronunciaverint, ex eorum literis discas. *Cyprian. Epist. 42. § 5. p. 99.*

on



on of Partiality and Injustice ; that in

<sup>1</sup> Per singulos annos conveniamus---ut lapsis fratribus per poenitentiam medela quæatur. *Firmil. apud Cyprian. Ep. 75. § 3. p. 236.*

*Lesser Asia* <sup>1</sup> Offenders were usually absolved by the Synod which met every year. Synods also were assembled for the examining, condemn-

ing, and excommunicating of all Hereticks within their Limits, that so the Faithful might avoid and shun them : As *Paulus Samosatenus* was condemned by the

<sup>2</sup> Euseb. lib. 7. c. 30. p. 279.

<sup>2</sup> Council of Antioch, for resolving of all difficult Points that

did not wound the Essentials of Religion, or had relation unto the Discipline of the Church ; as when there was some Scruple about the time of baptizing of

<sup>3</sup> Apud Cyprian. Epist. 59. p. 162.

Children, a <sup>3</sup> Synod of Sixty Six Bishops met together to decide it.

And so when there were some Disputes concerning the Martyrs Power

to restore the Lapsed, <sup>4</sup> Synods were to be assembled to decide them. But why do I go about to reckon up Particulars, when

<sup>4</sup> In unum convenientes---disponere omnia possumus. *Apud Cyprian. Epist. 14. § 2. p. 41.*

when as they are endless; let this suffice in general, that Synods were convened for the Regulation and Management of all Ecclesiastical Affairs within their respective Jurisdictions, as *Firmilian* writes, that in his Country

the Bishops and Presbyters met together every year, to dispose those things which were committed to their charge. Here

Ut per singulos annos seniores & præpositi in unum conveniamus ad disponenda ea quæ curæ nostræ commissa sunt. *Apud Cypr. Epist. 75. § 3. p. 236.*

they consulted about the Discipline, Government, and External Polity of their Churches, and what means were expedient and proper for their Peace, Unity and Order, which by their common Consent they enacted and decreed to be observed by all the Faithful of those Churches whom they did represent.

He who denies this, must be very little acquainted with the ancient Councils, especially those which were held after the Emperors became Christians. The reason why we find not more Synodical Decrees of the three first Centuries, comes not, from that they judicially determined none, or required not the observance of them; but from that, either they

they were not careful, or the Fury and Violence of the Times would not permit them to transmit them down to their Successors; or through the length of time they are lost, and scarce any thing besides the Names of such Synods are now remembred; and of multitudes, neither Names nor Decrees are to be found: But yet there is enough escap'd the Fury of Persecution, and the length of time to convince us, that those Synods did decree those things, which they judged expedient for the Polity, Discipline and Government of those particular Churches, that were within their respective Provinces, and required them to be observed by all the Members thereof.

Thus we find these following Canons determined by several Synods in *Africa*. viz.

<sup>1</sup> Statueramus--- Si periculum infirmitatis urgeret, pacem sub ictu mortis acciperent. *Apud Cyprian. Epist. 54. § 1. p. 132.*

*Death, he should be absolved.*

<sup>1</sup> That though a Delinquent had not endured the whole time of Penance, yet if he was very sick, and in danger of

<sup>2</sup> That



<sup>1</sup> That at the approach of a Persecution, penitent Offenders should be restored to the Churches Peace.

<sup>1</sup> Censuimus-- Pacem dandam esse, & eos ad prælium, quod imminet, armari & instrui oportere. *Ibidem.*

<sup>2</sup> That Penance should not be hastily passed over, or Absolution be rashly and speedily given.

<sup>2</sup> Ante legitimum & plenum tempus satisfactionis-- pax ei concederetur. *Cyprian. Epist. 59. § 1. p. 164.*

<sup>3</sup> That all lapsed and apostate Clergymen, should, upon their Repentance, be only admitted to Communion as Lay-men, and be never more capable of discharging or performing any Ecclesiastical Function.

<sup>3</sup> Decreverit ejusmodi homines ad poenitentiam quidem agendam posse admitti, ab Ordinatione autem Cleri atque Sacerdotali honore prohiberi. *Apud Cyprian. Epist. 68. § 7. p. 202.*

<sup>4</sup> That no Clergyman should be a Curator or Trustee of a last Will or Testament.

<sup>4</sup> Statutum sit, ne quis de Clericis & Dei ministris tutorem vel curatorem testamento suo constituat. *Apud Cypr. Epist. 66. § 1. p. 195.*

And

And many other such like Synodical Decrees relating to the Discipline and Polity of the Church, are to be met with in *Cyprian*, which were ever accounted Obligatory to all those Parishes who lived within those respective Provinces, and had their Representatives in those respective Synods; for to what purpose else did they decree them, if it had been fruitless and ridiculous to have made frequent and wearisome Journeys, with great Cost and Pains, to have debated and determined those things, which they judged expedient for the Churches Well-being, if after all it was indifferent, whether they were obeyed or not?

But that their Decrees were binding, is adjudged by an African Synod of Sixty

Six Bishops, held

<sup>1</sup> *Victori antequam poenitentiam plenam egisset, temerè Therapius, pacem dederit, quæ res nos fatis movet, recessum esse a decreti nostri auctoritate. Apud Cypr. Epist. 59. § 1. p. 164.*

*Anno 254. <sup>2</sup> who sharply rebuked a certain Bishop called Therapius, for breaking the Canons of a Synod, in absolving a certain Pres-*

*byter called Victor, before the time appointed by that Synod was expired. Probably the Breaker of those Canons was to have been deposed or Suspended, or*  
some

Some other severe Punishment inflicted on him, since the Bishops of this Synod speak as if they had moderated the Rigour of the Canons against *Teraphius*, in that they were contented only with chiding him for his rashness, and with strictly charging him, that he should do so no more.

† Satisfuit objurgare Therapium-- quod temere hoc fecerit, & instruxisse ne quid tale de cætero faciat. *Ibidem*.

So another Synod in *Africa* decreed,

that if any one should name a Clergy-man in his last Will and Testament for his Trustee, no Sacrifice should be offered for him after his Death. (What the meaning of this Offering of Sacrifice after his Death

† Censuerunt ne quis frater excedens, ad tutelam vel curam Clericum nominaret, ac si quis hoc fecisset, non offerretur pro eo, nec Sacrificium pro dormitione ejus celebraretur. *Apid Cyprian. Epist. 66. § 2. p. 195.*

is, I shall not shew here, since I must treat of it in another place.) Accordingly when *Geminus Victor* Bishop of *Furnis* had by his last Will and Testament constituted *Geminus Faustinus* a Presbyter, his Trustee, *Cyprian* Bishop of *Carthage* writ unto the Clergy and Laity of *Furnis* touching this matter, wherein he informs



Graviter commotus sumus ego & collegæ mei-- & ideo Victor, cum contra formam nuper in concilio à Sacerdotibus datam, Geminium Faustinum Presbyterum ausus sit tutorem constituere, non est quod pro dormitione ejus apud vos fiat oblatio, aut deprecatio aliqua nomine ejus in Ecclesia frequentetur, ut Sacerdotum decretum religiosè & necessariè factum servetur à nobis. *Ibidem*, § 1, 2. p. 195.

any Oblation for him, that so the Decree of the Bishops, which was religiously and necessarily made, might be observed by them.

To these two Instances we may add that of *Martialis* and *Basilides*, two Spanish Bishops, who for their falling into Idolatry in times of Persecution, were deprived of their Ecclesiastical Functions, and adjudged never more to be admitted to the Churches Communion in any other Quality than that of Lay-men, which rigorous Sentence an African Synod defends,

forms them, <sup>1</sup> That he and his Colleagues were very much offended that Geminus Victor had thus broke the Canons of the Synod; but that since he had done it, he hoped they would take care that he should suffer the Penalty annexed to the Breach thereof, that in conformity thereunto they would not mention him in their Prayers, or make

sends, <sup>1</sup> from the Authority of a General Council, who had before decreed, that such men should only be admitted to Repentance, but be for ever excluded from all Clerical and Sacerdotal Dignities.

<sup>1</sup> Maximè cum jam pridem decretum est ejusmodi homines ad poenitentiam quidem agendam posse admitti, ab ordinatione autem cleri atque sacerdotali honore prohiberi. *Apud Cyprian. Ep. 68. § 8. p. 202.*

## C H A P. IX.

§ 1. Of the Unity of the Church, Schism, defined to be a Breach of the Unity. The Unity of the Church, and consequently the Breach of it to be differently understood, according to the various Significations of the word Church. § 2. The Unity of the Church Universal considered Negatively and Positively; Negatively, it consisted not in an Uniformity of Rites, nor in an Unanimity of Consent to the non-essential Points of Christianity. The Rigid Imposers thereof condemned as Cruel and Tyrannical. § 3. Positively, it consisted in an harmonious Assent to the Essential Articles of Faith. The Non-agreement therein called Schism, but not the Schism of the Ancients. § 4. How the Unity of a Church Collectively was broken; this neither the Schism of the Ancients. § 5. The Unity of a particular Church consisted in two things, in the Members Love and Amity each towards other, and in the People's close adherence to their Bishop, or Parity Church: The Breach of the former some



times called Schism. § 6. The Breach of the latter, which was a causeless Separation from their Bishop, the Schism of the Ancients. In how many Cases it was lawful for the People to separate from their Bishop. § 7. A Separation under any other Pretence whatsoever, was that which the Fathers generally and principally meant by Schism, proved so to have been. § 8. Further proved from Ignatius. § 9. Exemplified in the Schism of Felicissimus and Novatian. § 10. An Objection answered touching the Schism of Novatian. How the Schism of one particular Church affected other Churches. § 11. A Summary and Conclusion of this Discourse concerning Schism.

§ 1. **H**AVING in the precedent Chapters discoursed of the Constitution and Discipline of the Primitive Church, I come now in this to treat of the Unity thereof, which I had a very great Inclination to search into, since by the due understanding thereof we shall the better apprehend the Notion of the Ancients concerning Schism, because that Schism is nothing else but a Breach of that Unity, as will most evidently appear from the

Quotations that we shall be forced to make use of in this Chapter.

Now that we may know what the Breach of the Unity of the Church was, it is absolutely necessary first to know what the Unity its self was; for till we understand its Unity, it is impossible that we should understand the Breach thereof.

Now for the distinct apprehending hereof we must remember the various acceptations of the Word Church, as they are related in the beginning of this Treatise, and according to the different Significations thereof, so must its Unity be diversified, or be differently understood; and according to the different manner of its Unity, so must we apprehend the Breach thereof.

§ 2. If in the first place we reflect upon the Word *Church*, as signifying the Church Universal, or all those who throughout the whole Earth profess Faith in Christ, then we may consider its Unity in this Sense either Negatively, where in it did not consist; or Positively, where in it did consist.

Negatively, It consisted not in an Uniformity of Rites and Customs; for every  
partic

particular Church was at liberty to follow its own proper Usages : One Church was not obliged to observe the Rites of another, but every one followed its own peculiar Customs. Thus with respect to their Fast before Easter, there was a great Diversity in the Observation of it

<sup>1</sup> in some Churches they fasted one day, in others two, in some more, and in others forty hours, but yet still they retained Peace and Concord, the diversity of their Customs commending the Unity of their Faith.

So also the Feast of Easter its self was variously celebrated.

The Asiatick Churches kept it on a distinct day from the Europeans, but yet still they <sup>2</sup> retained

Peace and Love, and for the diversity of such Customs none were ever cast out of

the Communion of the Church. So like-

wise writes Firmilian, <sup>3</sup> That in most Provinces their Rites

<sup>1</sup> Οἱ μὲν γὰρ οἰοντοε  
μῖαν ἡμέραν δεῖν αὐτὰς  
νηστεῖν, οἱ δὲ δύο, οἱ δὲ  
καὶ πλείονας, οἱ δὲ τεσσα-  
ράκοντα ὥρας ἡμερεύας  
τε καὶ νυκτερεύας συμε-  
λεῖσσι πρὸς ἡμέραν αὐτῆς  
πάντες ἔτοι εἰρήνησαν ἡ  
διαφωνία τῆς νηστείας  
τὴν ὁμόνοιαν τῆς πίστεως  
συνίστησι. Iren. apud Eu-  
feb. lib.5. cap.24. p.193.

<sup>2</sup> Εἰρήνηδον καὶ ἔδ-  
πολε διὰ τὸ εἶδ' ὅτι τῶ-  
το ἀπεβλήθησαν πνεύς.  
Idem Ibidem.

<sup>3</sup> In plurimis pro-  
vinciis multa pro loco-  
rum & nominum di-



veritate variantur, nec  
tamen propter hoc ab  
Ecclesiæ Catholicæ pa-  
ce atque unitate ali-  
quando discessum est.  
*Apud Cyprian. Epist. 75.*  
§ 5. p. 237.

were varied accord-  
ing to the Diversities  
of Names and Places  
and that for this no  
one ever departed  
from the Peace and

Unity of the Catholick Church. So that the  
Unity of the Church Universal consisted  
not in an Uniformity of Rites and U-  
sages.

Neither in the next Place did it consist  
in an Unanimity of Consent to the Non-  
essential Points of Christianity, but every  
one was left to believe in those lesser mat-  
ters, as God should inform him. There-  
fore *Justin Martyr* speaking of those Jew-  
ish Converts, who adhered to the *Mosaic*  
*al* Rites, says, that if they did this on-  
ly through their Weakness and Imbecil-  
lity, and did not perswade other Chri-  
stians to the observance of the same

Judaical Customs,  
that he would receive  
them into Church-fel-  
lowship and Commu-  
nion.

ἢ προσλαμβάνεσθαι  
καὶ κοινωνεῖν αὐτῶν ὡς  
ὁμοσπλάγχνοις καὶ ἀ-  
δελφοῖς δέειν. *Dialog.*  
*cum Tryphon. p. 266.*

Whosoever imposed on particular  
Churches the Observance of the former  
of these two things, or on particular  
Persons

Persons the belief of the latter, they were esteemed not as Preservers and Maintainers, but as Violators and Breakers of the Churches Unity and Concord.

An Instance of the former we have in that Controversie between the Churches of the East and West touching the time when *Easter* was to be Celebrated. For when *Victor* Bishop of *Rome* had Excommunicated the Eastern Churches, because they continued to observe that Feast on a different time from the Churches of the West, not only the Bishops of the adverse Party, but even those of his own side condemned him as rash, heady, and turbulent, and writ several Letters about this Affair, wherein,

as the Historian writes, <sup>1</sup> they most sharply censured him.

<sup>2</sup> Πληκτικώτερον κα-  
ταπορεύων. Euseb. lib.  
5. c. 24. p. 193.

As for the Latter, we have an instance thereof in the Controversie that was between *Stephen* Bishop of *Rome*, and *Cyprian* Bishop of *Carthage*, touching the Validity of Hereticks Baptism: For when *Stephen* Anathematized *Cyprian* because he held the Baptism of Hereticks to be null and void, other Bishops condemned *Stephen* as a Breaker and Disturber of the Churches Peace. And

P 4 amongst

amongst others, *Firmilian* a *Cappadocian* Bishop vehemently accuses him as such, because that he would impose upon others the Belief of such a disputable Point, which, says he, was never wanted

<sup>1</sup> Multa pro locorum & nominum diversitate variantur, nec tamen propter hoc ab Ecclesiæ Catholicæ pace atque unitate aliquando discessum est. Quod nunc Stephanus ausus est facere, rumpens adversum vos pacem, quam semper antecessores ejus vobiscum amore.

to be done, but every Church followed their own different ways, and never therefore broke the Unity and Peace of the Catholick Church, which now, saith he, Stephen dares to do, and breaks that Peace which the ancient Bishops always preserved in mutual

*Love and Honour.* And therefore we find in the Acts of that great Council of *Carthage* convened to determin this matter, that when *Cyprian* summ'd up the Debates thereof, he dehorts his Fellow-Bishops from the imposing Humour and Temper of Stephen,

<sup>2</sup> Superest ut de hac ipsa re singuli quid sentiamus, proferamus, neminem judicantes, aut à jure communionis aliquem, si diversum senserit amoventes. Neque

<sup>2</sup> It now remains, saith he, that every one of us declare our Judgments concerning this matter, judging no man, or removing any



any one from our Communion if he think otherwise than we do; for let none of us make himself a Bishop of Bishops, or by a Tyrannical Ter-

enim quisquam nostrum Episcopum se esse Episcoporum constituit, aut tyrannico terrore ad obsequendi necessitatem collegas suos adigit. *Concil. Carthag. apud Cyprian. p. 443.*

ror compel his Colleagues to the necessity of obeying. So that the forcing a Belief in these lesser matters was Cruelty and Tyranny in the Imposers thereof, who for such unreasonable Practices were look'd upon as Enemies to, and Violators of the Churches Concord, being the true Schismatics, inasmuch as they were the Cause of Schism and Division; unto whom therefore may be applyed that

Saying of Irenaus,

That at the last day Christ shall judge those who cause Schisms, who are inhumane, not having the fear of God, but preferring their own advantage before the Unity of the Church, for trivial

<sup>1</sup> Judicabit eos qui Schismata operantur, qui sunt immanes, non habentes Dei dilectionem, suamque utilitatem potius considerantes, quam unitatem Ecclesiæ, propter modicas & quaslibet causas magnum & gloriosum corpus Christi conscindunt & dividunt, & quantum

in ipsis est, interficiunt, pacem loquentes & bellum operantes, verè liquantes culicem & camelum transglutientes. *Lib. 4. cap. 62. p. 292.*

and

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*and slight Causes rent and divide the great and glorious Body of Christ, and as much as in them lies, destroy it; who speak Peace, but wage War, truly straining at a Gnat and swallowing a Camel.*

§ 3. But Positively, The Unity of the Church Universal consisted in an Harmonious Assent to the Essential Articles of Religion, or in an Unanimous Agreement in the Fundamentals of Faith and Doctrine. Thus *Irenaeus* having recited a Creed or a short Summary of the Christian Faith, not much unlike to the

<sup>1</sup> *Hanc igitur praedicationem & hanc fidem adepti Ecclesia, quamvis dispersa in universo mundo diligenter conservat, ac si in una eademque domo habitaret: Ac similiter iis fidem habet, ac si unam animam unumque & idem cor haberet: atque uno consensu haec praedicat, docet ac tradit, ac si uno ore praedita esset. Quamvis enim dissimilia sint in mundo genera linguarum, una tamen eademque est vis traditionis; nec quae constitutae*

Apostles Creed, immediately adds, 'The Church having received this Faith and Doctrine, although dispersed through the whole World, diligently preserves it, as though she inhabited but one House, and accordingly she believes these things, as though she had but one Soul and one Heart, and consonantly preaches and teaches these things,'

as though she had but one Mouth; for although there are various Languages in the World, yet the Doctrin is one and the same; so that the Churches in Germany, France, Asia, Ægypt or Lybia have not a different Faith; but as the Son is one and the same to all the Creatures of God in the whole World:

sunt in Germania Ecclesiæ aliter credunt aut tradunt, nec quæ in Hispaniis, neque in Galliis, neque in Oriente, neque in Ægypto, neque in Lybia, aut in medio orbis terrarum fundatæ sunt. Sed quemadmodum Sol creatura Dei unus & idem est in universo mundo, ita & prædicatio veritatis ubique lucet, & illuminat omnes homines qui ad notionem veritatis venire volunt. *Lib. I. cap. 3. p. 36.*

So the Preaching of the Word is a Light that enlightens every where, and illuminates all men that would come to the knowledge of the Truth. Now this Bond of Unity was broken, when there was a Recession from, or a Corruption of the true Faith and Doctrin, as Irenæus speaks concerning Tarian the Father of the Encratites, that as long as his Master Justin Martyr lived, he held the sound Faith, but after his Death <sup>1</sup> falling off from the Church, he shaped that new Form of Doctrin.

<sup>1</sup> Ἀποστὰς τῆς ἐκκλησίας. Apud Euseb. lib. 4. cap. 29. p. 150.

This Unity of the Church in Doctrin, according



according to *Hegesippus*, continued till the days of *Simeon Cleopas* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, who was Martyred under *Trajan* but after that false Teachers prevailed such as the *Simonians*, *Marcionists*, *Valentinians*, and others

<sup>1</sup> Ἀπὸ τῶν πᾶσι  
δὲ χριστοῖς, ἡ δὲ δόξα  
ταῖς, ἡ δὲ ἀπόστολοι,  
οἱ ἴσιν ἐμείσαν τὴν ἑ-  
νωσιν τῆς ἐκκλησίας  
φθοραῖς λόγοις καὶ  
τῷ Θεῷ καὶ τῷ Χριστῷ  
αὐτῷ. Apud Euseb. lib.  
4. cap. 22. p. 143.

<sup>1</sup> from whom sprung  
false Christs, false A-  
postles, and false Pro-  
phets, who by their  
corrupt Doctrines  
gainst God and his  
Christ divided the U-  
nity of the Church.

So that the Unity of the Church Uni-  
versal consisted in an agreement of Do-  
ctrin, and the Corruption of that Doctrin  
was a Breach of that Unity, and who-  
ever so broke it, are said to divide and  
separate the Unity of the Church, or,  
which is all one, to be Schismaticks. So  
*Irenæus* writes, that those that introduced

<sup>2</sup> Scindunt & sepa-  
rant unitatem Ecclesiæ.  
Lib. 4. cap. 43. p. 278.

<sup>3</sup> Diabolus Hæreses  
invenit & Schismata, qui-  
bus subverteret fidem,  
veritatem corrumpere, scinderet unitatem. De  
Unitate Ecclesiæ. § 2. p. 296.

new Doctrins, <sup>1</sup> did  
divide and separate  
the Unity of the  
Church. And *Cypri-  
an* writes, that <sup>3</sup> the  
the Devil found out,

*Heresis*

Heresies and Schisms, by which he might subvert the Faith, corrupt the Truth, and divide the Unity. But now for Distinctions take the Breach of this Unity was commonly called Heresie, and the word Schism generally applied to the Breach of the Churches Unity in another sense, of which more in the other Sections.

§ 4. If in the next place we consider the Word Church collectively, as denoting a Collection of many particular Churches, in which Sense it is once used in <sup>1</sup> Cyprian. Then its Unity may have consisted in a Brotherly correspondence with, and affection toward each other, which they demonstrated by all outward Expressions of Love and Concord, as by receiving to Communion the Members of each other, as <sup>2</sup> Irenæus mentions, was observ'd between the Churches of Rome and Asia, in mutually advising and assisting one another by Letters, or otherwise, of which there are frequent instances in the Ancients, and especially in Cyprian's Epistles, and in manifesting

<sup>1</sup> In provincia Africa & Numidia Ecclesiam Domini. *Epist.* 71. § 4. p. 214.

<sup>2</sup> *Apud Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 24. p. 193.*

all other Marks and Tokens of their Love and Concord. Now this Unity was broken, when Particular Churches clash'd with each other, when from being possess'd with Spirits of Meekness, Love and Charity, they were inflamed with Hatred, Rage and Fury against each other. A sad Instance whereof we have in that Controversie betwixt *Cyprian* and *Stephen*. or rather between the Churches of *Europe* and *Africa*, touching the Validity of Heretical Baptism, wherein those good Men were so far transported with Bitterness and Rancour against each other, that they interchangeably gave such harsh Language and invidious Epithets, as are too odious to name, which if the Reader be curious to know, he may find too much of it in *Cyprian's* Epistles.

Or if several particular Churches had for the promotion of Peace, Unity and Order regularly disposed themselves into a Synodical Government and Discipline, as was always done when their Circumstances and Conveniences would permit them; then whoever broke or violated their reasonable Canons were censured as turbulent and factious, as it hath been evidenced in the former Chapter, and needs  
no



no farther Proof in this, because that the Schism of the Ancients was not a Breach of the Churches Unity in this Sense, viz. as denoting or signifying a Church Collective.

§ 5. But Schism principally and originally respected a particular Church or Parish, though it might consequentially influence others too. Now the Unity of a particular Church consisted in the Members Love and Amity toward each other, and in their due Subjection or Subordination to their Pastour or Bishop: Accordingly the Breach of that Unity consisted in these two things, either in a Hatred and Malice of each other, or in a Rebellion against their Lawful Pastour, or which is all one, in a causeless Separation from their Bishop, and those that adhered to him.

As for the first of these, there might be Envies and Discords between the Inhabitants of a Parish, without a formal Separation from Communion, which Jars and Feuds were called Schism; an Instance whereof we find in the Church of *Corinth*, unto whom *St. Paul* objected in *1 Cor. 11. 18.* *When ye come together in the Church, I hear that there be Divisions,* or as it is in the Original, *ἰσχυρισμοί*, Schisms amongst

amongst you. Here there was no separate Communion, for they all came together in the Church, and yet there were Schism amongst them, that is, Strifes, Quarrels and Discords. And as far as I can perceive from the Epistle of *Clemens Romanus*, which was writ to appease another Schism in the same Church of *Corinth*, there were then only Turmoils and Differences, without any actual Separation. But on this I shall not enlarge, because it is not what the Ancients ordinarily meant by Schism.

§ 6. But that which they generally and commonly termed Schism, was a Rebellion against, or an ungrounded and causeless Separation from their Lawful Pastour, or their Parish-Church. Now because I say, that a causeless Separation from their Bishop was Schism, it will be necessary to know how many Causes could justify the Peoples Desertion of their Pastour, and these I think were two, or at most three; the first was Apostacy from the Faith, or when a Bishop renounced the Christian Faith, and through fear of Persecution embraced the Heathenish Idolatries, as was done in the case of

*Mar-*

*Martialis* and *Basilides* two Spanish Bishops, and was justified by an African Synod, as is to be seen throughout their whole Synodical Epistle, still extant amongst those of *Cyprian's*. The Second

Cause was Heresie, as *Irenæus* saith,

<sup>1</sup> *We must fly far off from all Hereticks.*

And *Origen* allows the People to separate from their Bishop, <sup>2</sup> *if they could accuse him of false and Heretical Doctrine.*

<sup>1</sup> *Basilidem & Martialem libellis Idololatriæ commaculatos— Episcopatum gerere, & Sacerdotium Dei administrare non oportere. Epist. Synod. apud Cypr. Epist. 68. § 1. p. 200.*

<sup>2</sup> *Oportet longe fugere ab eis. Lib. 1. c. 13. p. 63.*

<sup>3</sup> *Si habueris accusationem doctrinæ pessimæ, & alienorum ab Ecclesia Dogmatum. Homil. 7. in Ezechiel.*

A third Cause was a scandalous and wicked Life, as is asserted by an *African* Synod held *Anno 258.* whose Exhortations and Arguments to this purpose may be seen at large in their Synodical Epistle still extant in *Cyprian*, *Epist. 68. p. 200.* out of which several Passages pertinent to this occasion have been already cited in the Sixth Chapter of this Treatise, to which I must refer the Reader. Of this mind also was *Irenæus* before them,

Q

who



<sup>1</sup> Qui vero Presbyteri  
serviunt suis voluptati-  
bus, & non præponunt  
timorem Dei in cordi-  
bus suis, sed contumeliis  
agunt reliquos, & prin-  
cipalis confessionis tu-  
more elati sunt, & in ab-  
sconsis agunt mala—  
ab omnibus talibus absi-  
stere oportet. *Lib. 4.*  
*cap. 44. p. 278.*

*separate.* Origen indeed seems to be of  
another mind, and thinks that the Bi-  
shops Immorality in Life could not justi-

<sup>2</sup> Qui curam habet  
vitæ suæ, non meis de-  
lictis qui videor in Ec-  
clesia prædicare scanda-  
lizabitur, sed ipsum dog-  
ma considerans, & per-  
tractans Ecclesiæ fidem,  
à me quidem averfabi-  
tur, doctrinam vero sus-  
cipiet secundum præ-  
ceptum Domini, qui ait,  
supra Cathedram Moy-  
si sederunt Scribæ  
& Pharisei, omni-  
a enim quæcunque vo-  
bis dicunt audite & fa-  
cite, juxta autem opera  
illorum nolite facere;

who writes, <sup>1</sup> The  
as for those Presby-  
ters, who serve their  
Pleasures, and have  
not the fear of God  
before their Eyes, who  
contumeliously use o-  
thers, are lifted up  
with Pride, and se-  
cretly commit wicked-  
ness, from all such  
Presbyters we ought to  
separate. <sup>2</sup> He, faith  
he, that hath a care  
of his Soul, will not  
be scandalized at my  
Faults who am his  
Bishop, but considering  
my Doctrin, and find-  
ing it agreeable to the  
Churches Faith, from  
me indeed he will be a-  
verse, but he will re-  
ceive my Doctrin ac-  
cording to the Precept  
of the Lord, which  
saith,

The Scribes and  
Pharisees sit on Moses  
Chair, whatever  
they say un-  
derstand, and do,  
according unto  
Works do not, for  
say and do not :  
Scripture is of  
those who teach what  
is good, and do the  
same, and sit upon  
Chair of Moses  
Scribe or Phari-  
sees. The Precept is to  
O People, if thou

dicant quippe & non  
faciunt ; iste sermo de  
me est, qui bona doceo,  
& contraria gero & sum  
sedens supra cathedram  
Moysi quasi Scriba &  
Pharisæus ; præceptum  
tibi est. O Popule, si non  
habueris accusationem  
Doctrinæ pessimæ, & a-  
lienorum ab Ecclesia  
dogmatum, conspexeris  
vero meam culpabilem  
vitam, atque peccata,  
ut non habeas juxta di-  
centis vitam tuam in-  
stituere, sed ea facere  
quæ loquor. *Homil. 7.  
in Ezechiel.*

do not accuse me of false Doctrin, or He-  
retical Opinions, but only beholdest my wick-  
ed and sinful Life ; thou must not square thy  
conduct according to my Life, but do those things  
which I speak. Now whether *Irenæus*, or  
the African Synod, or *Origen* be to be most  
condemned, I leave the Learned to judge,  
though I think they may be both nearer  
reconciled than they seem to be, *Irenæus*  
and that Synod affirming, that the Peo-  
ple of their own Power and Authority  
ought immediately, without the concur-  
rent Assent of other Churches, upon the

Q 2

Immo-

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Immorality and Scandal of their Bishop leave and desert him ; *Origen* restraining the People from present Execution, till they had the Authority of a Synod for doing ; for thus he must be understood or else he will contradict all other Writers, it being avouched by all, that Synods did depose all those Bishops that were guilty of criminal and scandalous Enormities, as *Privatus* Bishop of *Lan- bese* was deposed by a Synod of Ninety

<sup>1</sup> Ob multa & gravia delicta. *Cyprian. Ep. 55.*  
§ 11. p. 140.

Bishops , <sup>1</sup> for his many and heinous Crimes.

§ 7. But now excepting these three Causes of Apostacy, Heresie and Immorality, it was Schism in a Parish to leave their Minister, or to set up another Bishop against him ; for though they at first chose their Bishop, yet their Bishop being on their Choice approved and confirmed by the neighbouring Bishops, they could not dethrone him, without truly assigning one of those forementioned Causes ; for this was to gather a Church out of a Church, to erect a new Altar and a new Bishop, which could not be in one Church ; for as *Cyprian* writes

<sup>1</sup> God one, the Ro Church wheref new stitute besides and the impra ever gat ters ; J dulteron crilegio wicked. says C do aris shop is it is that th but one Judge at a tin is the K of Sch through Pride locatur, atque u



God is one, Christ is one, the Church is one, the Rock on which the Church is built is one; wherefore to erect a new Altar, and constitute a new Bishop, besides the one Altar and the one Bishop, is impracticable; whosoever gathers here, scatters; so to do is adulterous, impious, sacrilegious, mad and wicked. <sup>2</sup> From hence, says Cyprian, Schisms do arise, that the Bishop is not obeyed; and it is not considered that there ought to be but one Bishop, and one Judge in a Church at a time. And <sup>3</sup> this is the Rise and Source of Schismatics, that through their Swelling Pride they contemn

<sup>1</sup> Deus unus est, & Christus unus, & una Ecclesia, & Cathedra una super Petrum Domini voce fundata; aliud altare constitui, aut Sacerdotium novum fieri præter unum altare & unum Sacerdotium non potest: Quisquis alibi collegerit, spargit, adulterum est, impium est, quodcunque humano furore instituitur, ut dispositio divina violetur. *Epist.* 40. § 4. p. 93.

<sup>2</sup> Neque enim aliunde nata sunt schismata, quam inde quod Sacerdoti Dei non obtemperatur, nec unus in Ecclesia ad tempus Sacerdos, & ad tempus Judex vice Christi cogitatur. *Epist.* 55. § 6. p. 138.

<sup>3</sup> Hi sunt ortus atque conatus Schismaticorum malè cogitantium ut sibi placeant, ut præpositum superbo tumore contemnant, sic de Ecclesia receditur, sic altare profanum foris collocatur, sic contra pacem Christi, & ordinationem atque unitatem Dei rebellatur. *Epist.* 65. § 4. p. 193.

their Bishop, and so they go off from the Church, so they erect a profane Altar, and so they rebel against the Peace of Christ, and the Ordination and Unity of God. And

<sup>1</sup> *Inde Schismata & Hæreses oboræ sunt, & oriuntur, dum Episcopus qui unus est, & Ecclesiæ præest, superba quorundam præsumptione contemnitur, & homodignatione Dei honoratus indignus hominibus judicatur. Epist. 69. § 4. p. 208.*

<sup>2</sup> *Illi sunt Ecclesiæ plebs Sacerdoti adunata, & pastori suo grex adhærens, unde scire debes Episcopum in Ecclesia esse, & Ecclesiam in Episcopo, & si qui cum Episcopo non sunt, in Ecclesia non esse, & frustra sibi blandiri eos, qui pacem cum Sacerdotibus Dei non habentes obrepunt, & latenter apud quosdam communicare se credunt, quando Ecclesiæ quæ Catholica una est, scissa non sit, neque divisa, sed sit utique connexa, & cohærentium sibi invicem Sacerdotum glutino copulata. Epist. 69. § 7. p. 209.*

again, <sup>1</sup> From thence proceed Schisms, that the Bishop who is but one, and presides over the Church, is contemned by the proud Presumption of Men, and he that was thought worthy by God, is esteemed unworthy by Men. And again,

<sup>2</sup> The Church is the People united to their Bishop, and the Sheep adhering to their Pastour; the Bishop is in the Church, and the Church in the Bishop: whosoever are not with the Bishop, are not in the Church, and those do in vain flatter them-

*selves*

*selves, creep a some, Church couplea Bishops causet others since he di of the Bishop Sheep stour the Me*

*From paren specte confisi Comm out a any o in a p the l draw rish gal M and Cypri This*

Selves, who having not Peace with God's Priests, creep about, and privately communicate with some, as they think, when the Catholick Church is not divided, but connexed and coupled together by the Unity of its agreeing Bishops.

Whosoever therefore should causlessly desert his Bishop, and solicit others so to do, was a true Schismatick, since in so doing

<sup>1</sup> he divided a Portion of the Flock with the Bishop, separated the Sheep from their Pastour, and dissipated the Members of Christ.

<sup>1</sup> Cum Episcopo portionem plebis dividere, id est, à pastore oves, & filios à parente separare, & Christi membra dissipare. *Epist.* 38. § 1. p. 90.

From these Quotations then it is apparent, that the Primitive Schism respected only a particular Church, and consisted in a Persons Separation from Communion with his lawful Bishop without a just and authentick Cause; when any one should set up a particular Church in a particular Church, in opposition to the lawful Bishop thereof, and should draw away the Inhabitants of that Parish from the Communion of their legal Minister, setting up distinct Meetings and <sup>2</sup> Conventicles, as Cyprian calls them. This was true

<sup>2</sup> Conventicula sibi diversa constituunt. *De unitat. Eccles.* § 10. p. 299.

Q 4

Schism;



Schism; for as *Ignatius* says, whosoever

<sup>1</sup> Μὴ βεβαίως καὶ ἐν-  
πολῶ συναθροίσασθαι.  
Ad Magnes. p. 32.

<sup>2</sup> Ὁ λαὸς ἐπισ-  
κόπου τῶν παλαιῶν, τῶν  
διαβόλων λατρεύει. Epist.  
ad Smirn. p. 7.

so assembled <sup>1</sup> were  
not congregated legal-  
ly according to the  
Command: And <sup>2</sup> who-  
soever officiated with-  
out the Bishop, sacri-  
ficed to the Devil.

§ 8: This Notion now of Schism gives us a clear Reason, why we find in *Ignatius* so frequent and Pathetick Injunctions of Obedience to, and Unity with our respective Pastours, of avoiding all Divisions, and closely adhering to them; because a deserting of them, or a separating from them, was a Commission of this horrid and detestable Sin of Schism, as will appear from these following Exhortations and Instructions of his, with which every Leaf almost of his Epistles

<sup>3</sup> Πάντες τῷ ἐπισκό-  
πῳ ἀκολουθεῖτε, ὡς Ἰη-  
σοῦς Χριστὸς τῷ πατρί, καὶ  
τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ ὡς  
τοῖς ἀποστόλοις, τὰς ὁ  
διακόνες ἐν ἡρώπεδι ὡς  
Θεῷ ἐν ἰσχυρί. Μηδεὶς  
χωρεῖ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ τὴν  
πρεσβυτερίαν ὅτι ἀντιθέ-  
των εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν,

are fraught and  
furnished, <sup>3</sup> All you  
of the Church of  
Smirna obey your  
Bishop as Jesus Christ  
did the Father, and  
the Presbytery as the  
Apostles, and honour  
the Deacons according  
to

of  
to the  
God. Le  
Ecclesiast  
be done  
Bishop;  
munion o  
ed valia  
performe  
shop, or  
mitted by  
ever the  
there let  
as where  
is, there  
Church  
lawful  
mitted by  
Eucharis  
so whatso  
Have  
your Bish  
bath res  
My Son  
that obe  
shop, P  
Deacons  
them let  
God be.  
resist ou  
we be fo

the Command of  
1. Let nothing of  
ecclesiastical Services  
done without the  
Bishop; let that Com-  
munion only be esteem-  
valid, which is  
formed by the Bi-  
shop, or by one per-  
mitted by him. Where-  
ever the Bishop is,  
there let the People be;  
where Jesus Christ  
there the Catholick  
Church is; it is not

useful without the Bishop, or one per-  
mitted by him, to baptize or celebrate the  
Eucharist; this is pleasing unto God, that  
whatsoever is done may be firm and Legal.

Have respect unto  
our Bishop, as God  
hath respect unto you.  
My Soul for theirs  
that obey their Bi-  
shop, Presbyters and  
Deacons, and with  
them let my part in  
God be. <sup>2</sup> Let us not  
resist our Bishop, lest  
we be found Resisters

ἐκείνη βεβαία εὐχαρι-  
στία ἡ γείδω, ἢ ὑπὸ τῷ  
ἐπίσκοπον ἔσα, ἢ ὧ ἂν  
αὐτοῦ ἐπιτρέψῃ, ὅπερ ἂν  
φανῇ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, ἐκεί-  
τὸ πληρῶς ἔσω, ὥσπερ  
ὅπερ ἂν ἡ Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς,  
ἐκεί ἢ καθολικὴ ἐκκλη-  
σία ἐκ τῶν ἐστὶν χρεῖς  
τῶ ἐπισκόπου, ἕτε βαπτί-  
ζειν, ἕτε ἀγάπῃ ποι-  
εῖν, ἀλλ' ὧ ἂν ἐκεῖνος  
δοκιμάσῃ, τὸτο καὶ τῷ  
Θεῷ εὐάρεστον, ἵνα ἀσ-  
φαλὲς ἢ καὶ βέβαιον πᾶν  
ὁ ποιῆσθαι. Epist. ad  
Smirn. p. 6.

<sup>1</sup> Τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ πρε-  
σβεύετε ἵνα καὶ ὁ Θεὸς  
ὑμῖν, ἀντιψύχον ἐγὼ τῷ  
ὑποτασσόμενῳ τῷ ἐπίσ-  
κόπῳ, πρεσβυτέρους,  
διάκονους, καὶ μετ' αὐτοῖς  
μοι τὸ μέγιστον γένοιτο  
χεῖν ἐν Θεῷ. Epist. ad  
Polycarp. p. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Μὴ ἀντιτάσσασθαι  
τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, ἵνα ὧμεν  
Θεῷ ὑποτασόμενοι. Ad  
Ephes. p. 20.

of

<sup>1</sup> Παρεμὼ ἐν ὁμο-  
νοία Θεῷ σπυδαίετε  
πάντα πρὸς τὴν τριγα-  
θην τῆς ὁπτικῆς εἰς  
τόπον Θεῷ καὶ τῷ πρεσ-  
βυτέρων εἰς τὸν συ-  
νελεύει τῷ ἀποστόλων, καὶ  
τῷ διακόνων--- πεπρω-  
μένων διακονίαν Ἰησοῦ  
Χριστοῦ--- μηδὲν ἔστω ἐν ὑ-  
μῖν ὃ διυρήσεται ἡμᾶς με-  
ρίσαι, ἀλλ' ἐνωθῆτε πρὸς  
ὁπτικῶν καὶ τοῖς τρι-  
γαθην τοῖς--- ὅσοι τρι-  
ὁ κῶν τῷ ἀντι τῷ πα-  
τρὸς ἔστω ἐποίησε ἡν-  
αμῶν τῷ, ἥτε οἱ ἐλυ-  
τῷ, ἥτε διὰ τῷ ἀποστό-  
λων, ἥτοι καὶ ὑμεῖς  
ἀνὰ τῷ ὁπτικῶν καὶ  
τῷ πρεσβυτέρων μηδὲν  
πρὸς τῷ καὶ τῷ πα-  
τρὸς ἐνωθῆτε πρὸς  
ἰδίᾳ τῷ, ἀλλ'  
ἀνὰ τῷ τῷ καὶ τῷ  
τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ  
Epist. ad Romanos, p. 33.

sho, and Presbyters, nor privately with-  
draw from them, but assemble together, hav-  
ing one Prayer, one Supplication, one Mind

<sup>2</sup> ὅσοι τῷ τῷ καὶ τῷ  
μῶν--- ὅσοι τῷ τῷ τῷ  
ἐστὶν ἐκείνῳ ὡς πρὸς τῷ  
ἀκολουθεῖτε, πολλοὶ τῷ

of God. <sup>1</sup> I exhort  
you to do every thing  
in the Unity of God  
the Bishop presiding  
in the place of God  
and the Presbyters  
in the place of the  
Council of the Apo-  
stles, and the Deacons  
performing the intru-  
sted Ministry of Jesus  
Christ; let there be  
nothing be in you that  
may divide you, but  
be united to your Bi-  
shop and Presidents:  
As therefore Christ  
did nothing without  
the Father being united  
to him, neither by him-  
self nor by his Apo-  
stles, so do you no-  
thing without the Bi-

and one Hope. <sup>2</sup> Flee  
all Division; where  
the Pastour is, there  
as Sheep follow, for

there



there are many plausible Wolves, that seek to carry you away, but let them have no place in your Unity—Whoever are God's and Jesus Christ's, they are with the Bishop; and whosoever repenting shall come to the Unity of the Church, those shall be God's, that they may live according to Jesus Christ. Be not

deceived, my Brethren, if any one follows a Schismatick, or one that causeth Division and Separation, he shall not inherit the Kingdom of God.

Respect the Bishop, Presbyters and Deacons; do nothing without the Bishop, Keep your Flesh as the Temple of God, Love Unity, Avoid Schisms, be followers of Jesus Christ, as

λόκοι ἀξιοπίστοι ἡδονῇ κακῇ αἰχμαλωτίζουσιν τὰς θεοδέμους, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ ἐνότητι ὑμῶν ἐκ ἐξουσιν, τίπον— ὅσοι γὰρ Θεὸς εἰσὶν, καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἔτοιμοι ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου εἰσιν, καὶ ὅσα ἂν μετανοήσαντες ἔλθωσιν ὅτι τῇ ἐνότητι τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἔτοιμοι Θεὸς ἔσονται, ἵνα ᾗσιν καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστὸν ζῶντες. Μὴ πλαναῖτε ἀδελφοὶ μου, εἴ τις χρίζοντι ἀκοινοθεῖ, βασιλείαν Θεοῦ καὶ κληρονομεῖ. Epist. ad Philadelph. p. 40.

τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ προσέχετε καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ καὶ διακόνοις, χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου μηδὲν ποιεῖτε, τὴν σὰρκὰ ὑμῶν ὡς ναὸν θεοῦ τηρεῖτε, τὴν ἐνωσιν ἀγαπάτε, τὰς μερισμούς φεύγετε, μιμηταὶ γίνεσθε Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ, ὃς ὁ μερισμὸς ἐστὶν καὶ ὁρμή, θεὸς καὶ κατοικεῖ, πάντες ἐν μετανοῇσιν ἀξίαι ὁ κύριος

καὶ, ἐὰν μετανοήσωσιν εἰς ἐνότητα θεοῦ καὶ συνέσειον τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ. Epist. ad Philadelph. p. 43.

he

he was of his Father— Where Division and Wrath is, God dwells not ; God therefore pardons all Penitents, if they penitentially return to the Unity of God, and the Presbyter of the Bishop. And some other such like Expressions there are in the Epistles of this Father, which evidently demonstrate Schism to be nothing else than a causeless Separation from our Parish Bishop or Minister, and a wandering after, or an Adhesion to another false and pretended Pastour.

§ 9. But for the Clearer Proof, that this was what the Fathers meant by Schism, it may not be altogether unnecessary to add unto these Quotations an Example or two ; for Examples more convincingly instruct than bare Testimonies and Citations. And here let us first view the Schism of *Felicissimus* in the Church of *Carthage*, as it is related in the 3<sup>8th</sup>, 40<sup>th</sup>, and 55<sup>th</sup> Epistles of *Cyprian*, and we shall find it respecting only that particular Church or Parish. When *Cyprian* was elected Bishop of *Carthage*, *Felicissimus* and others of his Faction opposed him, but finding themselves too weak, and not powerful enough to balance his Interest, they yielded to his Promotion, but yet still

still retained an Hatred against his Person, and waited for a more favourable opportunity and a plausible Pretence to separate from him. It pleased God that *Cyprian* some time after his Advancement, was forced by reason of the Persecution to withdraw and absent from his Flock, during which Absence that Faction made use of all means to lessen his Interest, till they had made their Party indifferently strong, and then they broke out into an open Separation from him, forming themselves into a distinct Meeting, creating a new Bishop, erecting a new Altar, and constituting a new Church. Now all this was acted in, and respected only the particular Parish of *Carthage*, without causing or attempting any Separation in any other Church or Parish; and yet this *Cyprian* calls *Schism*, and excommunicates the Actors in it as Schismaticks, and Breakers of the Unity of the Church, of his Church Actually, and of all the other Churches of the Church Universal Virtually, who like the Members of the Natural Body are affected with the Pains and Convulsions of each other.

So also the famous Schism of *Novatian* respected only the particular Church of *Rome*, being no other than his causeless  
Sepa-



Separation from *Cornelius* his lawful Bishop, and his erecting separate Conventicles against him, as may be read at large in those Epistles of *Cyprian* that treat of this Affair, and in his Book *De Unitate Ecclesiae*.

§ 10. But I foresee an evident Objection against this restrained Notion of Schism, and in particular from the Schism of *Novatian*, which I cannot well pass over without resolving, since the Solution thereof will inform us in the manner, how the Schism of one particular Church did affect other Churches. Now the Objection may be this, If Schism respected only one particular Church, whence then comes it to pass that we read of *Novatian* Bishops, not only at *Rome* where that Schism first began, but in several other Churches and Parishes besides? Now to this I answer, that we must distinguish between the Schism and the Heresie of *Novatian*; had *Novatian* been only guilty of Schism, in all probability his Schismatical Actions, as well as all other Schisms before, would have ended in the same Church where they began, and have proceeded no farther; but he having once engaged in his Schism, and  
willing

willing to continue it, that he might have some pretence for those enormous Practices, he accused his Bishop of remitting and loosing the Reins of Discipline, in communicating with *Trophimus* and others that had Sacrificed to Idols, as may be amply seen in the 55<sup>th</sup> Epistle of *Cyprian*; consequently for the Justification of this Accusation, he added this Doctrin, as the Characteristick Dogma of his Party, That the Church had no Power to absolve those who lapsed after Baptism, but were to leave them to the Tribunal of God. This was an Error in Doctrin, invidious to the Mercy of God, and injurious to the Merits of Christ, as *Cyprian* shews at large in his 55<sup>th</sup> Epistle. Every Error in Doctrin was called Heresie. Accordingly *Novatian* is branded for this as an Heretick; whence the Confessors in their return from his Party, confessed that in adhering to them,

<sup>1</sup> they had committed Schisms, and been the Authors of Heresies.

And in the same Epistle they call *Novatian* <sup>2</sup> an Heretick and a Schismatick.

So *Cyprian* also ac-

<sup>1</sup> Commisisse se Schismata, & hæresis auctores fuisse. *Cyprian. Ep. 46. § 1. P. 104.*

<sup>2</sup> Schismatico & hæretico homine. *Ibidem. § 3. P. 105.*

cuses

<sup>1</sup> Hæreticæ pravitas. *Epist.* 47. § 1. p. 107.

<sup>2</sup> Schismaticus & hæreticus error. *Epist.* 51. § 2. p. 111.

cuses the said Novatian, <sup>1</sup> of heretical Pravity; and calls his Error <sup>2</sup> a Schismatical and Heretical Error.

So that Novatian's Schism was accompanied with Heresie, which, as usual, was called after the Name of its Author; and having many eminent Persons to abet it, and a specious shew of Sanctity and Mortification, it is no wonder that it spread its self into many other Churches, besides that where it was first hatched; unto which we may also add

<sup>3</sup> Ostiatim per multorum domos, vel oppidatim, per quasdam civitates discurrentes, obstinationis suæ & erroris scissi sibi quærant comites. *Epist.* 41. § 2. p. 97.

Men unto their Party, <sup>3</sup> running about, as Cyprian writes, from House to House, and from Town to Town, to gain Companions in their Obstinacy and Error.

For many of them really thinking themselves to be in the right, and believing others to be in the wrong, conceived it to be their bounden Duty to leave their Bishop, if he would not leave his Heresie, as they apprehended it to be.



be. And probably several Bishops of the Orthodox, who were the legal Pastors of their respective Parishes, were through their own Ignorance, and those Men's fair Pretences, deluded into the same uncharitable Error with them, Of denying the Lapsed any Pardon. But we needed not guess at this as only probable, since we have an Instance of it in *Martian* the lawful Bishop of *Arles*, concerning whom *Cyprian* writes to *Stephen* Bishop of *Rome*, that he had received Advice from the Bishops of that Province,

*That Martian of Arles had joyned himself unto Novatian, and had departed from the Unity of the Church, and the Concord of the Bishops, holding that Heretical Severity that the Consolations of Divine Pity and Fatherly Lenity should be shut against the penitent and mourning Servants of God, who knock at*

*Martianus Arelate consistens Novatiano se conjunxerit, & à Catholica Ecclesiæ unitate, atque à corporis nostri & Sacerdotii consensione discesserit, tenens Hæreticæ præsumptionis durissimam pravitatem, ut servis Dei pœnitentibus & dolentibus, & ad Ecclesiam lachrymis & gemitu & dolore pulsan-  
tibus, divinæ pietatis & lenitatis paterna solatia & subsidia claudantur, nec ad fovenda vulnera admittantur*

*vulnerati, sed sine spe pacis & communicationis relictæ ad luporum rapinam & prædam Diaboli projiciantur. Epist. 67. § 1. p. 198.*

R

the

*the Church with Tears, Sighs and Groans, so that the wounded are not admitted to have their Wounds healed, but being left without any hope of Peace or Communion, are thrown out to the Rapine of Wolves, and Prey of the Devil.*

So that it was not *Novatian's* Schism, but his Heresie, that was diffused through other Churches; his Schism respected only his own Church, but his Heresie, which was a Breach of the Unity of the Church Universal, respected other Churches also; so that in answer to the forenamed Objection, we need only say this, that there was no such thing as the Objection supposes, that is, that there were no Bishops or Followers of *Novatian's* Schism in other Churches, but that those that were discriminated by his Name, were the Bishops and Followers of his Heresie.

But however let us suppose the worst, *viz.* That all Schismatics had been Orthodox and sound in every Point of Faith, had been exemplary and pious in the discharge of every Duty, had been guilty of no Crime but their Schism from their Bishop and Parish, and yet their Schism might have influenced other Churches and Parishes too, and that I think these two ways. 1.

1. If one or more Churches had admitted to Communion those that were excommunicated by their own Church for Schism, that Church or Churches made themselves Partakers of those Mens Crimes, and involved themselves in the same Guilt of Division and Schism with them, as *Martian* Bishop of *Arles* was adjudged by *Cyprian* as a Schismatick, <sup>1</sup> Because he had joined with *Novatian*, when he had been before Excommunicated. I do not

<sup>1</sup> Cum Novatianus ipse, quem sequitur, olim abstentus & hostis Ecclesiæ judicatus sit. *Epist.* 67. § 2. p. 198.

here mean, that a Bishop or Parish to make themselves guilty, should actually or personally communicate with the Author of the Schism himself, much less in the Church where he began his Schism, but it was enough if they joyned with his Legats or Messengers, or any of his Followers in any Church whatsoever; and therefore nei-

ther an <sup>2</sup> *African* Synod, nor <sup>3</sup> *Antoninus* an *African* Bishop

<sup>1</sup> Et cum ad nos in Africam legatos misisset, optans ad communicationem nostram ad-

mitti, hinc sententiam retulerit, se foris esse cœpisse, nec posse à quoquam nostrum sibi communicari. *Cyprian. Epist.* 67. § 2. p. 198.

<sup>3</sup> Cum Novatiano te non communicare. *Idem Epist.* 52. § 1. p. 113.



would communicate with the Legats of No

<sup>1</sup> Felicissimum rejectum  
à te illic esse. *Cyprian.*  
*Epist.* 55. § 1. p. 137.

vatian. Nor would

<sup>1</sup> Cornelius joyn  
Communion with Fe-  
licissimus a Schi-

matick of Carthage, when he came to  
Rome; but as he was excluded from  
Communion in his own Church, so like-  
wise was he in that of Rome.

2. It was the Custom when any Bi-  
shop was elected, to send news of his

<sup>2</sup> Tuas literas legimus.  
*Cyprian. Epist.* 42. § 1.  
p. 99.

Promotion to other  
Bishops, as <sup>1</sup> Corne-  
lius did to *Cyprian*,  
that so he might

have their Confirmation, and their fu-  
ture Letters to the Bishop of that Church,  
to which he was promoted, might be di-

<sup>3</sup> Literas nostras ad te  
direximus. *Cypr. Epist.*  
42. § 1. p. 99.

rected unto him, as  
<sup>1</sup> *Cyprian* did unto  
*Cornelius*; which  
Custom of sending

Messengers to other Churches, to acquaint  
them of their Advancement to the Epis-  
copal Throne was also observed by the  
Schismaticks, and in particular by No-

<sup>4</sup> Venerunt ad nos,  
missi à Novatiano Max-  
imus Presbyter & Au-  
gendus Diaconus, & Machæus quidam, & Longinus  
*Cypr. Epist.* 41. § 1. p. 96.

vatian, who <sup>4</sup> sent  
Maximus a Presby-  
ter, Augendus a

Di-

Deacon, Machæus and Longinus unto Cyprian, to inform him of his Promotion to the See of Rome. Now if any Bishop or Church did knowingly approve the Pretensions of the Schismatical Bishop, they broke the Concord of the Church, and became guilty of Schism, as may be gathered from the beginning of an Epistle of Cyprian's to Antonius an African Bishop, wherein he writes him, <sup>1</sup> That he had received his Letter, which firmly consented to the Concord of the Sacerdotal Colledge, and adhered to the Catholick Church, by which he had signified, that he would not communicate with Novatian, but hold an agreement with Bishop Cornelius. And therefore when Legats came to Cyprian both from Cornelius and Novatian, he duly weighed who was legally elected; and finding Cornelius so to be, he approved his Election, <sup>2</sup> Directed his Congratulatory Let-

<sup>1</sup> Accepi literas tuas, concordiam collegii Sacerdotalis firmiter obtinentes, & Catholicæ Ecclesiæ cohærentes, quibus significasti cum Novatiano te non communicare, sed cum Cornelio Coepiscopo nostrum unum tenere consensum. Epist. 52. § 1. p. 113.

<sup>2</sup> Literas nostras ad te direximus. Epist. 42. § 1. p. 99.

ters

<sup>1</sup> A communicatione eos nostra statim cohibendos esse censuimus. *Epist.* 41. § 1. p. 96.

<sup>2</sup> Nec mandare desistimus, ut pernicioſa diffensione depoſita— agnoſcant, Episcopo ſemel facto, alium conſtitui nullo modo poſſe. *Ibidem.* § 2. p. 97.

ters unto him, <sup>1</sup> reſe-  
ſed to communica-  
with the Schiſmatic  
Messengers of Nor-  
tian. <sup>2</sup> and exhorted  
them to quit the  
Schism, and to ſubmit  
to their lawfully cho-  
ſed Biſhop.

So that in theſe two reſpects, the Schiſm of a particular Church might influence others alſo, involving them in the ſame Crime, creating Quarrels and Diſſentions between their reſpective Biſhops, and ſo dividing the Diſchargers of that Honourable Office, whom God had made one;

for as Cyprian ſays,

<sup>3</sup> Cum ſit à Chriſto una Eccleſia per totum mundum in multa membra diviſa, item Episcopatus unus Episcoporum multorum concordie numeroſitate diffuſus. *Epist.* 52. § 16. p. 119.

<sup>3</sup> As there is but one Church throughout the whole World, divided into many Members; ſo there is but one Biſhoprick diffuſed through the agreeing number of many Biſhops.

§ 11. But now that we may conclude this Chapter, the ſum of all that hath been ſpoken



spoken concerning Schism, is, that Schism  
in its large Sense was a Breach of the U-  
nity of the Church Universal; but in its  
narrow and restrained Sense of a Church  
particular, whosoever without any just  
reason, through Faction, Pride and En-  
vy, separated from his Bishop or his  
Parish-Church, he was a true Schisma-  
tick; and whosoever was thus a Schis-  
matick, if we may believe Saint Cyprian,  
He had no longer

God for his Father,  
nor the Church for  
his Mother, but was  
out of the number of  
the Faithful; and  
though he should die  
for the Faith, yet  
should he never be  
saved.

Alienus est--- habe-  
re jam non potest De-  
um patrem, qui ecclesi-  
am non habet matrem;  
tales etiam si occisi in  
confessione nominis fu-  
erint, macula ista nec  
sanguine obluatur. De  
Unit. Eccle. § 5. & 12.  
p. 297. & 300.

This much then shall serve for that  
Query, concerning the Churches Unity.  
The next and last thing that is to be en-  
quired into, is the Worship of the Pri-  
mitive Church, that is, the Form and  
Method of their Publick Services, of  
Reading, Singing, Preaching, Praying,  
of Baptism, Confirmation, and the Lord's  
Supper; of their Fasts and Feasts; of  
their

their Rites and Ceremonies, and for  
like, which I thought to have annexed  
to this Treatise; but this being larger  
than I expected, and the Discourse relating  
to the Primitive Worship being like  
to be almost as large, I have for this and  
some other Reasons reserved it for a particular  
Tract by its self, which, if nothing  
prevents, may be expos'd hereafter  
to publick View and Observation.

---

*F I N I S.*

THE  
SECOND PART  
OF THE  
ENQUIRY  
INTO THE  
Constitution, Discipline,  
Unity & Worship  
OF THE  
Primitive Church,

That Flourish'd within the First  
Three Hundred Years after  
CHRIST.

Faithfully Collected out of the Extant  
Writings of those Ages.

---

By an Impartial Hand.

---

L O N D O N,

Printed for Jonathon Robinson at the  
*Golden Lion*, and John Wyat at the  
*Rose* in *St. Paul's Church-Yard*. 1691.





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The Second Part of the En-  
quiry into the Constitution,  
Discipline, Unity and Wor-  
ship of the Primitive Church.

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CHAP. I.

1. Of the *Publick Worship of the Primitive Church.* § 2. *In their Assemblies they began with Reading the Scriptures. Other Writings Read besides the Scriptures.* § 3. *Who Read the Scriptures, from whence they were Read, and how they were Read.* § 4. *Whether there were appointed Lessons.* § 5. *After the Reading of the Scriptures, there followed Singing of Psalms.* § 6. *What Psalms they Sung.* § 7. *The manner of their Singing.* § 8. *Of Singing Men, and of Church-Musick.* § 9. *To Singing of Psalms succeeded Preaching. On what the Preacher*  
A 2 *discourses*

## 2 The Worship, Ceremonies, &c.

*discoursed : How long his Sermon was*  
§ 10. *The Method of their Sermons. § 11*  
*Who Preached; usually the Bishop, or*  
*his Permission, any other, either Clergy*  
*man or Lay-man.*

1. **H**AVING in a former Treatise  
enquired into the Constitution, Discipline, and Unity  
of the Primitive Church ; I intend in  
this to enquire into the Worship thereof,  
which naturally divides its self into  
these Two Parts, Into the Worship  
itself, and , Into the necessary Circum-  
stances thereof, as Time and Place,  
and such like ; both which I design to  
handle, beginning first with the Worship  
itself, wherein I shall not meddle with  
the Object thereof, since all Protestants  
agree in the Adoring God alone through  
Jesus Christ, but only speak of those  
Particular Acts and Services, whereby in  
the Publick Congregations we honour  
and adore Almighty God, such as Reading  
of the Scriptures, Singing of Psalms,  
Preaching, Praying, and the Two Sacra-  
ments, every one of which I shall con-  
sider in their Order, as they were per-  
formed in the Ancient Parish Churches.  
And First,

§ 2. When



§ 2. When the Congregation was assembled, the first Act of Divine Service; which they performed, was the Reading of the Holy Scriptures. In our Publick Assemblies, says Ter-

ullian, <sup>1</sup> The Scriptures are Read, Psalms sung, Sermons Preached, and Prayers presented. So also Ju-

stin Martyr writes, that in their Religious Assemblies, first of all, <sup>2</sup> The Writings of the Prophets and Apostles were read.

<sup>1</sup> Scripturæ leguntur, Psalmi canuntur, adlocutiones proferuntur, & Petitiones delegantur. *De Anima*, c. 3. p. 530.

that in their Reli-

<sup>2</sup> Τα ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν ἀποστόλων, καὶ τὰ συγγράμματα τῶν προφητῶν ἀναγιγνώσκεται. *Apolog.* 2. p. 98.

But besides the Sacred Scriptures, there were other Writings read in several Churches, viz. The Epistles and Tracts of Eminent and Pious Men, such as the Book of <sup>3</sup> Her-

mas, called *Pastor*, and <sup>4</sup> the Epistle of Clemens Romanus to the Church of Corinth, which were read in the Publick Congregations of many Churches.

<sup>3</sup> Ἡ δὲ καὶ ἐν ἐκκλησίαις ἴσμεν αὐτὸ δεδνημοσιευμένον. *Euseb. lib.* 3. c. 3. p. 72.

<sup>4</sup> Ταύτῃ δὲ καὶ ἐν πλείσταις ἐκκλησίαις ὅτι τὸ κοινὸν δεδνημοσιευμένον. *Euseb. lib.* 3. c. 16. p. 88.

A 3

§ 3.

#### 4 The Worship, Ceremonies, &c.

§ 3. He that read the Scriptures, particularly destinated to this Office, a Preparative to Holy Orders, as *Aurelius* whom *Cyprian* design'd for a Presbyter

<sup>1</sup> Placuit ut ab Officio  
lectionis incipiat. *Epist.*  
33. p. 77.

<sup>2</sup> *Just. Martyr. Apol. 2. p.*  
98.

<sup>3</sup> *Tertul. de Præscript. ad-*  
*vers. Hæret. p. 89.*

signific in English a Reader, or as we now call him, a Clark. The Place from whence the Clark Read, was an Eminency erected in the Church, that so all the People might see and hear him, which was call-

<sup>4</sup> *Cyprian Epist. 33. p.*  
77. & *Epist. 34. § 4. p. 81.*

and not others alternatively with him; it being his Office only to Read, whilst the Congregation listned to him, as *Cyprian* writes, that *Celerinus* a Lector,

<sup>5</sup> Plebi Universæ--- le-  
gat Præcepta & Evange-  
lium Domini. *Epist. 34.*  
§ 4. p. 81.

<sup>1</sup> was first to begin  
with the Office  
reading. The Name

by which this Office  
was distinguished  
was in Greek, <sup>2</sup> ἀναγνώστης. In Latin

<sup>3</sup> Lector, both which

signific in English a Reader, or as we now call him, a Clark. The Place from whence the Clark Read, was an Eminency erected in the Church, that so all the People might see and hear him, which was call-

ed <sup>4</sup> Pulpitum, or, a  
Pulpit, from which  
Pulpit he read the  
Scriptures alone,

<sup>5</sup> Read the Law and  
the Gospel to all the  
People. *Celerinus* on-  
ly read, whilst all  
the

the People attended; and therefore when this Duty was ended, it is described only <sup>1</sup> by the Le-

ctors ceasing to Read, and not by the Peoples ceasing so to do.

<sup>1</sup> Παυσαμὲν τὸ ἀναγινώσκοντες. Justin. Martyr. Apolog. 2. p. 98.

§ 4. How much the Lector read at a Time is uncertain, since they varied according to the Circumstances of their Condition. So writes *Tertullian*, that

<sup>2</sup> they Read the Scriptures according to the Quality of their present Times. And to the same purpose

says *Justin Martyr*, that the Clark read,

<sup>3</sup> until it was sufficient.

<sup>2</sup> Cogimur ad literarum divinarum Commemorationem, siquid presentium temporum qualitas aut præmonere cogit aut recognoscere. Apolog. cap. 39. p. 709.

<sup>3</sup> Μέχρ' ἐγχαρῆ. Apolog. 2. p. 98.

§ 5. When the Reading of the Scriptures was ended, then followed the Singing of Psalms. So says *Tertullian*,

<sup>4</sup> The Scriptures are Read, and Psalms Sung. This was a considerable Part of the Christians

<sup>4</sup> Scripturæ leguntur, Psalmi canuntur. De Anim. cap. 3. p. 530.



## 6 The Worship, Ceremonies, &c.

Service, who, as *Pliny* writes, met together before day,<sup>1</sup> to

<sup>1</sup> Carmen Christo, quasi Deo dicere. *Epist. ad Trajan.*

sing an Hymn to Christ, it being useful to elevate the

Mind in Heavenly Raptures of Praise and Adoration, and to raise a Pious Soul into greater Degrees of Admiration of Gods Love and Bounty, whence such a Soul is described by *Clemens Alexandrinus*,

<sup>2</sup> Ἀεὶ ἀνῶσα, ὑμνεῖσα, εὐλογεῖσα, ψάλλουσα. *Strom. lib. 6. p. 483.*

<sup>2</sup> to be continually Blessing, Praising, Singing and Presenting Hymns to God the

Lord of all, being assisted by the Holy Spirit of God,<sup>3</sup> with-

<sup>3</sup> Οὐδὲ ψάλλαι καὶ εὐρυθμῶς καὶ ἐμμελῶς καὶ ἐμμέτρως, καὶ συμφώνως ὑμνῆσαι τὸ πάτερ ἐν Χριστῷ, ἐὰν μὴ τὸ πνεῦμα. &c. *Origen. de Orat. § 6. p. 7.*

out whose Aid it was impossible to Sing either in good Rhythme, Tune, Metre or Harmony.

The Christians in those days condemned only the debauched Bacchanalian Singing and Roaring, but commended the Blessing and Praising of God

<sup>4</sup> Δι' εὐχαριστίας καὶ ψαλμωδίας. *Clem. Alex. Paedag. lib. 2. c. 4. p. 121.*

<sup>4</sup> by Thanksgiving and Singing of Psalms. Inasmuch that it was made one Characteristick

ristick Distinction of a Christian: As Tertullian inveighs against the Marriage of a Believing Woman with an Infidel, because thereby she would be hindred from discharging the Ordinances of the Gospel, amongst which he enumerates Singing of Psalms; for then, says he,

<sup>1</sup> What would her Husband sing to her?

or, What would she sing to her Husband?

<sup>1</sup> Quid maritus suus illi? vel marito quid illa cantabit? *Ad Uxor. lib.*

2. p. 431.

And a little after

he describes the happy Condition of that Couple, who were both Christians, in that they did both joyn together in, and exhort one another to, the vigorous Performance of God's Worship,

<sup>2</sup> Psalms and Hymns

sound between those

two, and they mutually

excite one another,

who shall sing unto

God best; it being

their daily Employment, and recurring

as often as they ate their Meat. Thus saith

Clemens Alexandri-

nus, <sup>3</sup> a good Christi-

ans Life is a continu-

ed Festival, his Sacri-

fices are Prayers and Praises, Reading of

Scriptures

<sup>2</sup> Sonant inter duos Psalmi & Hymni, & mutuò provocant, quis melius Deo suo canet? *Ibidem, p. 433.*

<sup>3</sup> Ψαλμοὶ ὃ καὶ ὕμνοι παρὰ τὴν εἰσάσιν. *Stromat. lib. 7. p. 523.*

## 8 The Worship, Ceremonies, &c.

*Scriptures before Meat, and Singing of Psalms and Hymns at Meat.* Hence in

Περὶ πότον ψάλλειν  
ἀλλήλοις περιπίνομεν—  
δοξάζοντες ὅτι  
τῷ αὐτῷ ὡς τῷ αὐτῷ πεί-  
σομεθα ἀπολαύσεων σωμάτων,  
καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ τῆς ψυ-  
χῆς αὐξήσιν τεσσῶν αἰ-  
σθησέμεθα. *Stromat. lib. 6. p. 475.*

their Feasts and Banquets, <sup>1</sup> *When they drank to one another, they Sung an Hymn, therein blessing God for his unexpressible Gifts towards Mankind, both as to their Bodies and Souls.*

I confess indeed that most of these Quotations respect only Private Singing of Psalms, and so they may seem to be somewhat alien from my purpose; on which Account I should not have mentioned them, but have wholly passed them over in silence, had it not been to have satisfied those, who hold it unlawful to Sing any Psalms at all, in what manner soever; for if singing in private was usual and commendable, then no doubt publick Singing was so also.

§ 6. What those Psalms or Hymns were, that the Primitive Christians sung, may be a Question necessary to be resolved, which I take to be two-fold, either such as were taken out of the Holy Scriptures,



Scriptures, and particularly out of the Book of Psalms, or such as were of their own private composing. So writes Tertullian, that after the Celebration of the Lords Supper,

<sup>1</sup> Every one Sung an Hymn out of the Bible, or of his own composing. As for the Singing of David's

Psalms, the same Father particularly mentions the 133<sup>d</sup> Psalm, as Sung in his days,

<sup>2</sup> O how good and pleasant it is for Brethren to dwell together in Unity: This thou canst not easily sing, unless when thou suppest with many.

As for the Hymns

that were of Private Men's Composition, it was one of the Accusations of Paulus Samosatenus, the Heretical Bishop of Anti-

och, <sup>3</sup> that he abolished those Psalms, which were wont to be Sung to the Honour of the Lord Jesus

τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, τῇ μεγάλῃ τῷ πάρι ἐμέρι ψαλμοδῶν γυναῖκας ὡρασκευάζων. A<sup>c</sup>c. Concil. Antioch. apud Euseb. lib. 7. c. 30. p. 281.

<sup>1</sup> Quisque de Scripturis Sanctis, vel de proprio ingenio provocatur in medium Deo canere. Apolog. c. 39. p. 710.

<sup>2</sup> Vide quam bonum & quam jucundum habitare Fratres in unum: Hoc tu psallere non facile nosti, nisi quo tempore cum compluribus cœnas Advers. Psychycos de Jejunio. p. 650.

<sup>3</sup> Ψαλμοὶ ὃ τὰς με-  
εἰς τὸ Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν  
Χριστὸν πάντας, ὡς ὃ  
νεώτεροι καὶ νεωτέρων  
ἀνδρῶν συγγράμματα  
εἰς ἑαυτὸν ὃ ἐν μέσῃ

Christ,

10 The Worship, Ceremonies, &c.

Christ, as Novel, and composed by Modern Authors, and that he appointed Women on Easter Day, in the middle of the Church to sing Psalms in his Praise. And in the Fragment of an Anonymous Author extant in Eusebius, we find the Heresie of Artemon, who denyed the Divinity of Christ, confuted, not only by the Scriptures, and the Writings of the precedent Fathers, but also <sup>1</sup> by

<sup>1</sup> Ψαλμοὶ ὅτι καὶ  
ὡδαὶ ἀδελφῶν ἀπαρχῆς  
ὑπὸ πᾶν γενέσθαι τὸ  
λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ  
ὑμνεῖν θεολογῆσαι. Lib.  
5. cap. 28. p. 196.

the Psalms, and Hymns  
of the Brethren, which  
were formerly com-  
posed by them, where-  
in they praised Christ  
by making him a God.

Such a private composed Hymn was that which Clemens Alexandrinus mentions, as one commonly known among the Christi-  
ans in his Days, be-  
ginning χαῖρε φῶς, or

<sup>2</sup> Protreptic. p. 52.

<sup>2</sup> Hail Light.

§ 7. As for the manner of the Pri-  
mitive Singing, it

<sup>3</sup> Ἑμμελῶς καὶ συμφῶ-  
νως. Origen. de Oratio-  
ne, § 6. p. 7.

was <sup>3</sup> in good Tune,  
and Conccnt, all the  
People bearing a

part in it ; but whether all together, or  
Antiphonally, cannot well be determined,  
every

every Country probably following its own Mode, Singing only in General being commanded, not the particular manner or fashion of it.

In a Foreign <sup>1</sup> Quotation mention is made of Singing, in

<sup>1</sup> Origen. de Orat. § 6. p. 7.

Concert, *συμφώνως*, or, with Voices altogether.

In other Places the Alternative Method of Singing seems expressly to be used; as *Pliny* writes, That the Christians in his time, met together before day,

<sup>2</sup> to Sing an Hymn to Christ by course, or; one against another.

<sup>2</sup> Carmen Christo dicere secum invicem. Epist. ad Trajan.

And so in that fore-cited Passage of *Tertullian*, <sup>3</sup> What will an Unbelieving Husband sing to a believing Wife? Or what

<sup>3</sup> Quid Maritus suus illi? vel marito quid illa cantabit? Ad Uxor. lib. 2. p. 431.

will a believing Wife sing to an unbelieving Husband?

§ 8. As for Singing Men and Singing Women, I find that *Paulus Samosatenus* the Heretical Bishop of *Antioch*, abolished the old usual Hymns, and

<sup>1</sup> ap-



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<sup>1</sup> Εἰς ἑαυτὸν ὃ ἐν μέ-  
σῃ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, τῇ  
μεγάλῃ τῇ πάρα ἡμέρᾳ  
ψαλμοῦδ' ἑνὶ γυναικας  
ὁδοσκηδ' ὄν. Apud  
Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 30. p.  
281.

first Instituted by this Heretical Bishop, or were before his Time, I cannot tell.

As for Church-Musick, for Organs, and the like, those Primitive Ages were wholly ignorant of them; for it cannot rationally be conceived, that in those days of continual Persecution or Violence, they could neither use or preserve them; all

<sup>2</sup> Εὐρυθμῶς καὶ ἐμ-  
μελῶς, καὶ ἐμμέτρως  
καὶ συμφώνως. Origen. de  
Oratione. § 6. p. 7.

Praises of their Voices, Lips and Mouths, which *Clemens Alexandrinus* thinks, was Emblemized or shadowed forth by those Musical Instruments mentioned in

<sup>3</sup> Αἰνεῖτε αὐτὸν ἐν  
ψαλθείῳ, ὅτι ἡ γλῶττις  
τὸ ψαλμείον κρείσσον, καὶ  
ἐν κιθάρᾳ αἰνεῖτε αὐτὸν,  
κιθάρα νοεῖται π' εἶμα--  
αἰνεῖτε αὐτὸν ἐν κρη-

<sup>1</sup> appointed certain Women on Easter Day in the middle of the Church, to sing Psalms in his Praise. But whether these Singing Women were

first Instituted by this Heretical Bishop, or were before his Time, I cannot tell.

As for Church-Musick, for Organs, and the like, those Primitive Ages were wholly ignorant of them; for it cannot rationally be conceived, that in those days of continual Persecution or Violence, they could neither use or preserve them; all

that they lookt after, was to Sing <sup>2</sup> in Rhythme, Metre, Tune and Concent, to offer up unto God the

Praises of their Voices, Lips and Mouths, which *Clemens Alexandrinus* thinks, was Emblemized or shadowed forth by those Musical Instruments mentioned in

the 150th Psalm, where, saith he, <sup>3</sup> We are commanded to praise God on the Psaltery, that is, on the Tongue, because the

The Tongue is the Psal-  
tery of the Lord; and  
to praise him on the  
Harp, by which we  
must understand the  
Mouth; and to praise

βαλοῖς ἀλαλαγμῶν, κύμ-  
βαλον, τὸ σῶμα. ὁ τὴν  
γλῶτταν λέγει, ἢ τοῖς  
κρομφαλοῖς ἐπιχει χεῖλε-  
σι. Pædag. lib. 2. c. 4. p.  
121.

him on the loud sounding Cymbals, by which  
the Tongue is to be understood, which sounds  
or speaks through the knocking or coition of  
the Lips.

§ 9. When the Singing of Psalms was  
ended, then succeeded the Preaching of  
the Word. So writes

Tertullian, <sup>2</sup> Scrip-  
tures are read, Psalms  
sung, and then Ser-  
mons pronounced. As

<sup>2</sup> Scripturæ leguntur,  
Psalmi canuntur, ad lo-  
cutiones proferuntur. De  
Anima, c. 3. p. 530.

for the Subject of the Preachers Sermon,  
it was usually a Commentary or Explicati-  
on of the Lessons that were just before  
read. So it was in the Time and Coun-  
try of Justin Martyr, who writes, that

<sup>3</sup> when the Reader had  
ended, the Bishop made  
a Sermon by way of  
Instruction and Ex-  
hortation, to the Imi-  
tation of those excel-  
lent things which had

<sup>3</sup> Πανσαμὲν τὸ ἀνα-  
γνώσκοντες ὁ πρεσβυ-  
τέρου λόγος πρὸς νεοεισ-  
τάτους καὶ πρὸς κληρὸν τῆς ἐκ-  
κλησίας τῶν μιμήσεως  
πυγνίσται. Apolog. 2. p. 98.

been

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been read. Whence Origen calls them

<sup>1</sup> Τῶν εἰς τὰ ἀναγνώ-  
σματα διηγήσεων. Con-  
Celsum. lib. 3. p. 142.

Sermons <sup>1</sup> Explanations of the Lessons  
And such Explanations are all his Ser-

mons or Homilies, as whosoever reads them will easily see; and he himself inti-

<sup>2</sup> Homil. de Engastrym.  
And Homil. 17. in Jerem.

mates as much in <sup>2</sup> several of them.

As for the Length of their Sermons, they usually preach'd an Hour, as Origen complains of his abundance of matter, that if he should thoroughly handle

<sup>3</sup> Ὅπως ἔμιας ἡμέρας  
εὖ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πλείονων.  
Homil. de Engast. p. 29.

every part of it, <sup>3</sup> it would require not only the one Hour of their Assembly, but

several. Therefore when the Lessons were long and copious, which sometimes consisted of several Chapters, as the Lesson which was the Subject of Origen's 15th Homily on Jeremiah, reached from the 15th Chapter and 10th Verse, to the 17th Chapter and 5th Verse. The Preacher pass'd over some of the matter unmentioned, and handled the most important, or the most curious part therein. Thus in the beginning of a Sermon of Origen's, we find, that the Chapters that were read, were the 25, 26, 27, and



8 Chapters of the first Book of Samuel,

which he complains

were too large and

propitious to be all han-

dled at once, and

therefore he would on-

ly discourse of the

28th Chapter, touch-

ing the Witch of Endor, and those things re-

lated there concerning her.

ἵ Τα ἀναγνώδεντα  
πλείονα ὅτι— ὧν ἐκά-  
περάματα ἐκ ὀλίγα  
χει—τὰ περὶ τῆς ἐγγραφ-  
σιμύδα. Hom. de Engast.  
p.28,29.

§10. As for the manner of their Sermons, we may observe this Method in those of Origen, that he first began with a short Exordium, and then explained Verse after Verse, or Sentence after Sentence, shewing the Natural and Literal Signification of the Words, and then the Spiritualized or Mystical meaning of them, and concluded with a suitable Application of all,

either <sup>1</sup> by way of Exhortation to Piety and Vertue, or by way of Dehortation from Vice and Impiety. Always accomodating their Discourses to the Capacities of

ἵ Περίεργοντες μὲν  
ὅτι πῶς εἰς τὸ θεὸν εὐσε-  
βειαν—ἀπολέγειντες δ'  
ἀπὸ τῆς καταφρονεῖν τῆς  
θείας, καὶ πάντων τῶν  
τὸν ὁρθὸν λόγον περὶ  
τομῶν. Origen. contra  
Cels. l.3. p.142.

B

their

## 16 The Worship, Ceremonies, &c.

Τότε πολῶμεν ἐν τοῖς πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν διαλόγοις φέρειν εἰς μέσον, ὅτι εὐποροῦμεν συνετῶν ἀκροατῶν, ἀποκρυπτοῦμεν ὃ καὶ ὡρασιωπῶμεν πρὸ βαδύτερον τὰς σωρευομένων, καὶ δεομένων λόγων τροπικῶς ὀνομαζομένων γάλα. Idem, Ibidem. p.143.

had need of Milk, as the Apostle styles it, then they concealed from them those deep and recondite Points.

§ 11. As for the Preacher himself, it was usually the Bishop of the Parish. So

Ὁ πρεσβυτέρως διὰ λόγου πρὸς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ πρὸς τὴν λαὸν τῆς ἐκκλησίας καλῶν τῶν μυστικῶν ποιεῖται. Apolog. 1. p.98.

which were read. Or else he desired a Presbyter, or some other fit Person to preach in his room; without his Consent it had been Schism and Violence in any Person whatsoever to have usurped his Chair, but with his Permission any Clergy-man or Lay-man might Preach in his Pulpit. Now that Clergy-men Preach'd, no one will

their Hearers. <sup>a</sup> *their Auditors were prudent and understanding, then they scrupled not to treat of the profound Mysteries of the Gospel; but if they had attained no great measure of knowledge, and*

faith *Justin Martyr,* <sup>2</sup> *The Bishop Preaches by way of Instruction and Exhortation, to the Imitation of those excellent things*

will question, though it will be doubted, whether Lay-men did: But that they did so, appears from a memorable History concerning *Origen*, who going from *Alexandria* into *Palestina*, by the Desire of the Bishops of that Country, publicly Preach'd in the Church, and expounded the Holy Scriptures, although he was not yet in Holy Orders. At which Action when *Demetrius* Bishop of *Alexandria* was offended, *Alexander* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, and *Theodotus* of *Cæsarea* writ to him in defence of it, as follows,

Whereas you write in your Letter, that it was never before seen or done, That Lay-men should preach in the Presence of Bishops, therein you wander from the Truth; for wheresoever any are found, that are fit to profit

Ἰ Περσέθηκε ὁ τοῖς  
γράμμασιν, ὅτι τὸ ἐ-  
δέποτε ἡκέα, ἐδὲ νῦν  
γεγέννηται, τὸ παρόντων  
ἐπισκόπων λαϊκὸς ὁμι-  
λεῖν, ἐκ οἷο' ὅπως παρ-  
φανῶς ἐκ ἀληθείας λέγων,  
ὅτι γὰρ εὐερίσκονται οἱ  
ἐπιτήδαιοι πρὸς τὸ ὠφε-  
λεῖν τὰς ἀδελφὰς, καὶ πα-  
ρακαλεῖν τὰς λαῶν παρ-  
συνελθόντων ὑπὸ τῆς ἀγίας  
ἐπισκόπων, ὡς περὶ ἐν λα-  
οῖς εὐελπίς ὑπὸ  
Νέων, καὶ ἐν Ἰκονίῳ

Παυλῖν, ὑπὸ Κέλσῳ, καὶ ἐν Συνάδοις Θεόδορῳ  
ὑπὸ Ἀπικῆ τῆς μακαρίων ἀδελφῶν, εἰς τὰς ὅτι ἐν ἄλ-  
λοις τόποις τὸτο γίνεσθαι, ἡμᾶς δεμὴ εἰδέναι.  
Apud Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 19. p. 222.



*the Brethren, the Holy Bishops of their own accord ask them to Preach unto the People. So Evelpis was desired by Neon Bishop of Laranda, and Paulinus by Celsus of Iconium, and Theodorus by Atticus of Synnada, our most blessed Brethren; and it is credible, that this is likewise done in other places, though we know it not. But yet though Laymen Preach'd, it was not every one that did so, but only those, that were ἐπιτήδεωτες καὶ ὠφελεῖν τὰς ἀδελφεάς, fit to profit the Brethren; and though they were never so fit, yet they did not irregularly or disorderly run about a Preaching, or discharge that Sacred Office, till they were desired by the Bishop of a Parish to do it, καὶ προσκαλεῖνται τὸ λαὸν προσμιλεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγίων ἐπισκόπων, but stayed for the Permission and Approbation of such an one; for without that, their Sermons and Discourses would have been but so many Acts of Schism and Faction.*

## CHAP. II.

§ 1. After Preaching all the Congregation rose up to joyn in Publick Prayers. § 2. They prayed towards the East. Their Reasons for that Custom. § 3. They lifted up their Hands and Eyes towards Heaven. § 4. Whether the Minister that Officiated wore a Surplice, and therein of Ministers Habits. § 5. Whether they Sung their Prayers, and whether they used Responsals. § 6. Of prescribed Liturgies. The Lord's Prayer not always, but commonly used by them. § 7. To the Lord's Prayer they added other Prayers of their own Choice or Invention, proved so to have been. § 8. Whether their Prayers were divided into several Collects.

§ 1. **A**S soon as the Sermon was ended, then all the Congregation rose up to present their Common and Publick Prayers unto Almighty God, as Justin Martyr writes, that when the Preacher had finished his Discourse,

They all rose up, and

Ἔπειτα ἀνίσταμεθα  
κοινῇ πάντες, καὶ εὐχὰς  
πέμπομεν. Apolog. 2. p. 98

B 3

offered

offered their Prayers unto God. Standing being the usual Posture of Praying (at least the constant one on Sundays, on which day they esteemed it a Sin to kneel) whence the Preacher frequently concluded his Sermon with an Exhortation to his Auditours, to stand up and pray to God, as we find it more than once in the Conclusion of Origen's Sermons, as,

<sup>1</sup> Διὸ ἀναστάντες πρὸ Θεοῦ βοήθειαν αἰτήσωμεν, ἵνα ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ μακαριδῶμεν, ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τὰς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, Ἀμὲν. Hom. 19. in Jerem. Vol. 1. p. 198.

<sup>2</sup> Quapropter confurgentes deprecemur Dominum, ut digni efficiamur-- Christo Jesu, cui est Gloria & Imperium in Sæcula Sæculorum. Amen. Homil. 2. in Cantic.

<sup>3</sup> Surgentes per Christum Sacrificia Patri Offeramus, ipse enim propitiatio est pro peccatis nostris, cui est Gloria & Imperium in Sæcula Sæculorum. In Isaiam. Homil. 1.

for ever and ever, Amen.

<sup>1</sup> Wherefore standing up, let us beg help from God, that we may be blessed in Jesus Christ, to whom be Glory for ever and ever, Amen. And,

<sup>2</sup> wherefore rising up, let us pray to God, that we may be made worthy of Jesus Christ, to whom be Glory and Dominion for ever and ever, Amen. And

again, <sup>3</sup> Standing up let us offer Sacrifices to the Father through Christ, who is the Propitiation for our Sins, to whom be Glory and Dominion



§ 2. Accordingly the whole Congregation stood up, and turned their Faces towards the East, it being their Custom and Manner to pray towards that Quarter, as *Tertullian*

writes, <sup>1</sup> *We pray towards the East.*

<sup>1</sup> Nos ad Orientis Regionem precari. *Apolog.* c. 16. p. 688.

Now the Reasons

that I meet with for this Usage, may be reduced to these Three or Four.

I. Out of Respect and Reverence to their Lord and Master Jesus Christ they prayed towards the East, because the East is a Title given to Christ in the Old Testament; for that Place in *Zach. 6. 12. Behold the Man whose Name is the Branch*, they Translated according to the Septuagint, <sup>2</sup> *Behold the*

*Man whose Name is the East*, which misapprehension of the Word *Branch*, arose from the different

<sup>2</sup> Καὶ ἄλλη ὃ γερὴν φήσιν ἰδεῖς ἀνὴρ ἀνατολὴν ὄνομα αὐτοῦ. *Justin. Martyr. Dialog. cum Tryphon. p. 334.*

Significations or Applications of the Greek Word, by which the Septuagint expressed it. In the Original Hebrew the Word is *נחש*, which signifies an arising or sprouting out, as doth a Branch from a Root. The Word by which they ren-

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dred it in Greek, is ἀνατολή, which in a large Sense comprehends all sorts of arising and springing out, but strictly and generally is applyed to the arising and first appearing of the Sun, and by a Metonymy is appropriated to the East, because the Sun arises in that Quarter. The Fathers therefore not knowing the Original, and finding Christ to be called in their Ordinary Version ἀνατολή, presently concluded, that according to the usual signification of the Word, he was there termed by the Prophet *The East*, whom they conceived to be so called,

<sup>1</sup> Ὡς ὡς ἄστρον ἕμελλεν ἀνατέλλειν. Idem, Ibidem. p.334.

<sup>2</sup> Πυρρῶς τε γὰρ αὐτὸς ὁ τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ σοφίας λόγος καὶ φωτεινότερος μᾶλλον ἢ ἡλίας δυνάμεων ἐστίν, καὶ τὰ βάθη τῆς καρδίας καὶ τὰ νῦν εἰσδύνων, ὅθεν καὶ ὁ λόγος ἔσται ὡς ἡλίου ἀνατελεῖ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ καὶ πάλιν ἀνατολή ὄνομα αὐτοῦ. Id. Ibid. p.350.

<sup>1</sup> because he was to arise like a Star: And, <sup>2</sup> as the Sun that arises in the East penetrates through the World with its warm and illuminating Rays; So Christ the Sun of Righteousness would arise with more Warmth and Light, and pierce farther than the material Sun,

even into the Depths of Mens Hearts and Minds. Hence the East is called by Ter-

tullian

*Julian*, <sup>1</sup> *A Type of Christ*, and for this Reason we may very well suppose, that they prayed towards the East, as well as built their Churches toward it, which that they did, we shall shew in its proper place.

<sup>1</sup> *Orientem Christi figuram. Advers. Valentin. p. 284.*

II. Another Reason might be with respect to the Similitude of the Rising of the Sun, with our Spiritual arising out of the Darkness of Sin and Corruption, which I find thus expressed by *Clemens Alexandrinus*, <sup>2</sup> *Let*

*Prayers be made towards the East, because the East is the Representation of our Spiritual Nativity: As from thence Light first arose, shining out of Darkness; so according to that Rising of the Sun, the day of true Knowledge arose on those, who lay buried in Ignorance; whence the ancient*

<sup>2</sup> Ἐπεὶ ὁ γενεθλίῳν ἡμέρας εἰκὼν ἡ ἀνατολὴ κακῆσθαι τὸ φῶς αὐξεται ἐκ σκοτὸς λάμψαν τὸ πρῶτον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ καλινδεδυμένοις ἀνέτειλε γνώσεως ἀληθείας ἡμέρα καὶ λόγον τοῦ ἡλίου πρὸς τὴν ἑωθινὴν ἀνατολὴν αἱ εὐχαὶ, ὅθεν καὶ τὰ παλαιότατα Ἰσραὴλ πρὸς δύσιν ἐβλεπον, ἵνα οἱ ἀπαντιπρόσωπον τῶν ἀγαλμάτων ἱερέες, πρὸς ἀνατολὴν τρέψανται διδάσκονταί. *Stromat. lib. 7. p. 520.*

*Temples looked towards the West, that so they who stood against the Images therein, might*



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might be forced to look towards the East.

III. Origen advises to pray towards the Eastern Climate, to denote our Diligence in the Service of God, in being more forward to arise and set about it, than the Sun is to run his daily course, for which he produces an Apocryphal Text,

*Wisdom 16.28. 'That*

<sup>1</sup> Περὶ ὃ κλίματ' ἔστι,  
ἐν τῇ σοφίᾳ Σολομῶν-  
τος, ὅπως γινώσκῃς ἢ  
ὅπ' εἴ οὐδ' αὖτε τὸ ἥλιον  
ἐπ' εὐχαριστίας σε, καὶ  
πρὸς ἀνατολῆς φῶς ἐν-  
τυγχάνειν σοι. De Ora-  
tione, § 20. p.127.

*it might be known, that we must prevent the Sun to give thee thanks, and at the day-spring pray unto thee.*

IV. Another Reason for their praying towards the East, was their Opinion of the Excellency of this Quarter above others, which Argument Origen thus delivers, as well as I can Translate it.

<sup>2</sup> Τεσσάρων ὃ ὄντων  
κλίματων, τέτε πρὸς  
ἀρκτον, καὶ μεσημβρίαν,  
καὶ τέτε πρὸς δύσιν καὶ  
ἀνατολὴν, πῶς οὐκ ἐν  
αὐτῷθεν ὁμολογήσαι τὰ  
πρὸς ἀνατολὴν ἐνεργῶς  
ἐμπαίνεσθαι τὸ δεῖν ἐκεί-  
νου ὡς συμβολικῶς,

<sup>2</sup> Whereas there are four Climates, the North and South, the West and East, who will not acknowledge that we ought to pray looking towards the East, Symbolically re-  
presenting

presenting thereby, our Souls beholding the arising of the true Light? If a Man, which way soever the Doors of his House are placed, would rather make his Prayers towards the Windows, saying, That the sight of the Sky hath something more peculiar in it, to stir up his Affection, than his looking against a Wall. Or if it so happen, that the Windows of his House do not look towards the East, that happened from the Arbitrary Structure of the Builder, but not from Nature, which prefers the East before the other Quarters, and Nature is

to be preferred before that Building. Or if any one will pray in the open Field, will he not pray rather towards the East, than towards the West? And if in these things the East

ὡς τῆς ψυχῆς ἐνορώσης  
τῇ τῆ ἀληθινῆ φωτὸς ἀ-  
νατολῇ, ποιῆσαι τὰς ἐυ-  
χὰς εἰς τὴν πρὸς ἐπιδήπου  
τῆς θυρῶν τῆ οἰκῆς νου-  
κῶν βλέπει μᾶλλον ἢ  
τὸ ἀνεωγὸς τῆς οἰκίας  
προσφέρειν τὰς ἐνδοξ-  
εις, λέγων τὴν εἰς τὴν ἑξ-  
ονοῦν ὅτι ἔχειν π μᾶλλον  
προσκαλεμῶν ἐφ' ἐαυ-  
τῷ τῆς ὅτι τὴν ὅτι  
βλέψας, εἰ τύχοιεν μὴ  
διανεώτα τῆ οἰκῆς τὰ  
πρὸς ἀνατολὰς, λεκ-  
τέον πρὸς αὐτὴν, ὅτι δι-  
σει τῆ οἰκοδομημάτων  
ἀνθρώπων ἢ τὰς τὰ  
κλίματα, ἢ τὰς διανοι-  
ζομένων, φύσει ἢ τῆς ἀ-  
νατολῆς τῆς λοιπῶν προ-  
κειμένης κλιμάτων, τὸ  
φύσει τῆ διείσει προλακ-  
τέον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅτι ἐν πεδίῳ  
εὐξαῖται βελόμην, π  
μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ τέτον, ἢ ὅτι  
δύσιν προσεύξεται, εἰ  
ἢ ἐκεῖ προκειτέον τὰς  
ἀνατολὰς ἢ τὸ εὐλογόν,  
διὰ τὸ τὸ πανταχῶς  
ποιητέον. De Oratione,  
§ 21. p. 133, 134.

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is preferred before the West, why is it not so also in every other thing besides?

For these four Reasons now, but principally I suppose for the first, they usually prayed towards the East, inasmuch that for their Worshiping towards this Quarter, and for their Religious Observation of the Lords Day, or Sunday, so called because Dedicated to the Sun, they

<sup>1</sup> Inde suspicio, quod innotuerit nos ad Orientis Regionem precari. *Tertul. Apol. 16. p. 688.*

<sup>1</sup> were accused by the Heathens of Reverencing and adoring the Sun.

§ 3: The Congregation being thus turned towards the East, they put themselves into a Posture of Prayer, stretching out their Hands, and lifting up their Eyes towards Heaven, as *Clemens Alexandrinus* writes, <sup>2</sup> We

<sup>2</sup> Περὶ ἀνατίνομεν τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ τὰς χεῖρας εἰς ὕψος ἀεγόμεν. *Strom. lib. 7. p. 519.*

lift up our Head, and stretch out our Hands towards Heaven. And

<sup>3</sup> Illuc suspicientes Christiani manibus expansis. *Apolog. c. 30. p. 703.*

so *Tertullian*, <sup>3</sup> We pray looking up to Heaven, with expanded Hands, by this devout posture imitating



tating <sup>1</sup> the lifting up  
of their Hearts to  
God in the Heavens.

<sup>1</sup> ΟΙΟΝΕΙ ΤΗΝ ΕΙΧΟΝΑ ΤΩ  
ΠΡΕΠΟΝΤΩΝ ΙΔΙΩΜΑΤΩΝ,  
&c. Origen. de Orat. §  
20. p. 128.

Wherefore, as now  
to quicken the Peo-  
ples Devotion, the Minister before  
Prayer excites them thereunto, by say-  
ing, *Let us pray.* So in the *African*  
Churches, in *Cyprian's* Days, the Minister

<sup>2</sup> Prefac'd in his  
Prayer, by saying to  
the People, *Lift up*  
*your Hearts. To which*  
*the People to testifie*  
*their Consent, answer-*  
*ed, We lift them up*  
*unto the Lord.*

<sup>2</sup> Sacerdos ante Ora-  
tionem Præfatione præ-  
missa, parat Fratrum  
mentes dicendo, Sursum  
corda, & respondet  
plebs, Habemus ad Do-  
minum. *Cyprian. de Orat.*  
*Dominic. § 22. p. 316.*

§ 4. After this the Minister began to  
Pray. But before we handle his Prayer,  
it may not be unnecessary to consider in  
what Habit he Officiated, whether in a  
Surplice; or no. His usual Garb was a  
*Pallium*, which is the same with what we  
call a <sup>3</sup> *Cloak*. This  
as being the most  
simple and plain  
Garment was com-  
monly worn by the  
Christians; the usual

<sup>3</sup> Pallio nihil expedi-  
tius--- quippe tota mo-  
litio ejus operire est solu-  
tim, id est, uno circum-  
jectu--- ita omnia homi-  
nis simul contegit. *Ter-  
tul. de Pallio, p. 490.*

Garb

Garb throughout the whole Roman Empire was the *Toga*, which was more gay and splendid than the *Pallium*; wherefore those who came over from Paganism to Christianity, for the Indication of their Humility and Contempt of the World, quitted the *Toga* as too pompous and mundane, and assumed the *Pallium* or Cloak, as more grave and modest; from which change of Apparel, and renouncing of a sumptuous Habit, to embrace a poor and mean one, the Heathens derided and exposed the Christians, even to a Proverb, a *Toga ad Pallium*; which sarcastical Language engaged *Tertullian* to write a little Tract in Defense of the Cloak, which is still extant in his Writings, under the Title of *De Pallio*.

<sup>1</sup> *Primitive Christianity. Part. 2. c. 3. p. 47.*

But *Salmasius* and <sup>1</sup>*Dr. Cave* think this severe Habit was not worn by all

Christians, but only by those of them that led a more austere and mortified Life, such as the Clergy, and some self-denying Personages amongst the Laity, and that therefore it is called by *Tertullian* in the forementioned Tract, *Sacerdotis Habitus*, or *Priests Apparel*, as it is in all ancient Manuscripts, and in the first Edition of

*Beatus*

*Beatus Rhenanus*, and not *Sacer Habitus*,  
*The Holy Apparel*, as it is in the later E-  
 ditions. But whether it were so or no,  
 I shall not here debate. This is sufficient  
 for my purpose, that the Clergy usually  
 wore a Cloak. But now, that in times  
 of Publick Prayer, they should put a  
 Surplice, or any other kind of Linnen  
 Garment over their Cloaks, neither *Ter-*  
*tullian*, nor any other speak the least Syl-  
 lable of it: Instead of putting ano-  
 ther Vestment on their Gown or Cloak,  
*Tertullian* mentions some in his days, who  
 at Prayers would throw off their Gown  
 or Cloak, which he condemns as a Su-  
 perstitious Affectation, and an Heathenish  
 Custom. <sup>1</sup> So, saith

he, the *Heathens* pray  
 to their Gods, which  
 if it ought to have  
 been done, would have  
 been enjoined by the  
 Apostles, who have  
 given Directions con-  
 cerning the manner of  
 Prayer; unless some  
 think, that when Paul

<sup>1</sup> Quorundam positis  
 penulis Orationem face-  
 re: sic enim adeunt ad  
 idola nationes: quod utiq;  
 si fieri oporteret, Apo-  
 stoli qui de habitu Oran-  
 di docent, comprehen-  
 dissent, nisi si qui putant  
 Paulum penulam suam  
 in Oratione penes Car-  
 pum reliquisse. *De Ora-*  
*ratione*, p.659.

had put off his Cloak at Prayer, he forgot it,  
 and left it behind him at Carpus's.



§ 5. But quitting the Habit of him that Officiated, let us return to his Prayer,

<sup>1</sup> Modestis precibus orare. Cyprian. de Orat. Dominic. § 2. p. 309.

which he pronounced <sup>1</sup> with a modest and bashful Voice, that being most proper

for those, who came to acknowledge the multitude and heinousness of their Sins, and to beg God's Pardon and Grace, which is the End and Design of Prayer. Musical Singing is best agreeable to the

<sup>2</sup> Enixis precibus, lacrymis, ingemiscamus, preces, gemitus, lachrymæ. Cyprian. Epist. 8. p. 23.

praising and adoring of God; <sup>2</sup> but our Petitions to God ought to be sent up with most fervent Prayers, with Tears,

and Cries, and Groans.

Doubtless the Minister so prayed, as did most affect the People, whose Mouth he was to God; for they did not vocally joyn with him in the Prayers, but only testified their Assent to what the Minister prayed, by saying *Amen*, or *So be it*. Thus in the Prayer at the Celebration of the Lords Supper, the President of the Assembly only prayed, and the People concurred with the *Amen*. So writes

Justin

Justin Martyr, <sup>3</sup> The Bishop makes a long Prayer over the Elements, and when he ends, all the people present give their Approbation, by saying Amen. And, <sup>2</sup> When the Elements are blessed by the Ministers Prayer, and the People have approved it, by saying, Amen, Then they are distributed. And <sup>3</sup> the Bishop according to his Ability prays over the Elements, and the People give their Acclamations, saying Amen. So that scrupulous Person mentioned by Dionysius Alexandrinus in his Epistle to Xystus, is said, <sup>4</sup> to have frequently heard the Eucharistical Prayer, and with the rest of the Congregation to have answered, Amen. Henricus Valesius in his Notes on this Place, as likewise Dr. Hammond in his Annotations on 1 Cor. 14. think that St. Paul had reference to

<sup>1</sup> Παρ' αὐτῶν ὅτι πολὺ ποιεῖται, ἔσυντελεσέν-  
τος τὰς εὐχὰς καὶ τῷ  
εὐχαριστῶν ἡμῶν ὁ πρεσβυ-  
τερος ἐπευφημεῖ λέγων  
Ἀμήν. Apolog. 2. p. 97.

<sup>2</sup> Εὐχαριστήσαντες ὃ  
τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ καὶ ἐπα-  
φημέσαντες πάντες τῷ  
λαῷ. Ibid. p. 97.

<sup>3</sup> Εὐχὰς ὁμοίως καὶ  
εὐχαριστίας ὅση δύναμις  
αὐτῷ ἀναπέμπει καὶ ὁ  
λαὸς ἐπευφημεῖ λέγων  
τὸ Ἀμήν. Ibid. p. 98.

<sup>4</sup> Εὐχαριστίας γὰρ ἐπα-  
κέσαντα, καὶ συνεπιφ-  
θευξάμενοι τὸ Ἀμήν.  
Apud Euseb. lib. 7. c. 9.  
p. 255.

this Custom of the Peoples saying *Amen* at the Conclusion of the Eucharistic Prayer in 1 Cor. 14. 16. *Else when thou shalt bless with the Spirit, how shall he that Occupieth the room of the unlearned, say Amen, at thy giving of Thanks, seeing he understandeth not what thou sayest?* In which place St. Paul condemns as absurd and senseless, the Practice of some Men, who would consecrate the Sacrament in Hebrew or Syriack before Greeks, who understanding not those Tongues, could not bear their share in the Eucharistic Prayer, which consisted not in Antiphonal or Responsory Replies to the Minister, but only in saying *Amen*, or, *So be it* to what he had prayed.

It is true indeed, that these Citations are spoken in particular of the Prayer before the Lords Supper; but yet they may be also applyed to their Prayer after Sermon, since we have no reason to imagin, that in the one they should use Responsals, and in the other none. But that in all their Prayers the Priest only prayed, seems to be apparent, from that it was one part of his Office, to pray for



People, <sup>2</sup> The  
 lefts, says Cyprian,  
 for the safety of  
 Lords People. And,  
 the Priests who have  
 sacrificed to Idols  
 not assume to them-  
 selves the Priesthood,  
 make any Prayer in  
 God's sight for the  
 brethren. <sup>2</sup> There-  
 fore those ought to be  
 sent into the Priest-  
 hood, whom God will  
 Minister. It was the

<sup>1</sup> In precibus quas faciunt pro Plebis Dominicæ incolumitate. *Epist.* 68. § 2. p. 201.

<sup>2</sup> Qui idolis sacrificando sacrilega Sacrificia fecerunt, Sacerdotium Dei sibi vindicare non possunt, nec ullam in conspectu ejus precem pro Fratribus facere. *Ep.* 64. § 2. p. 190.

<sup>2</sup> Oportet eos ad Sacerdotium deligi, quos à Deo constet audiri. *Epist.* 68. § 3. p. 201.

Priest that solely pronounced the Publick  
 prayers without the Voices of the Peo-  
 ple: And indeed it was impossible for  
 the People to respond, since they had  
 no fixed publick Form of Prayer, except  
 the Lords Prayer, which Lords Prayer  
 they frequently, though not always, re-  
 peated: And then as to their other  
 prayers, every Bishop or Minister of a  
 Parish was left to his own Liberty and Au-  
 thority therein.

§ 6. As for the use of the Lords Prayer,  
 must first be observed, that the con-  
 stant repeating of it with other Prayers,

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was not esteemed necessary, but frequently it was omitted. Thus in the Heavenly Prayer of *Polycarpus* at the Stake the Lord's Prayer is neither at beginning nor ending. The Conclusion of it is

Σέ αἰνῶ, σέ ἐυλογῶ,  
σέ δοξάζω, διὰ τῆ αἰ-  
νῆς ἀρχιερέως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ  
τῆ ἀγαπητῆς σῆ παίδος,  
δι' ἧς σοι σιωῶ ἑαυτῶν, ἐν  
πνεύματι ἀγίῳ δοξάζω, καὶ  
νῦν, καὶ εἰς τὰς μέλλον-  
τας αἰῶνας, Ἀμήν. *Apud*  
*Enseb. lib. 4. c. 15. p. 133.*

<sup>1</sup> Lord I will praise  
thee, I will bless thee  
I will magnifie thee  
through the Eternal  
High Priest Christ  
Jesus thy beloved Son  
by whom to thee, with  
him, and the Holy  
Ghost, be Glory now

and for ever more, Amen. So *Clement Alexandrinus* concludes his last Book of *Pedagogy*, with a Prayer, which neither ends nor begins with the Lords Prayer and *Origen* prescribing a Method of Prayer, speaks not a Word of the Lords

Prayer, but <sup>2</sup> advises both to begin  
and end with Dox-  
ology, or a giving

<sup>2</sup> *De Oratione*, §22. p.  
134, 135.

Praise to God. In this Respect they regarded the Lords Prayer, as given by Christ for a Pattern of all other Prayers according to which they were to be made; whence *Cyprian* calls this Prayer

the Law or Rule of  
praying; <sup>2</sup> so that to  
pray otherwise than  
that Prayer directed  
as Ignorance and  
impiety.

Where-  
fore, says Cyprian,  
Let every one pray  
to God, not only for  
himself, but for all  
the Brethren, as the  
Lord hath taught us  
to pray for all. And

he writes Clemens  
Alexandrinus, <sup>4</sup> that  
a good Man never  
remembers the Af-  
fronts that are of-  
fered him, but always  
forgets them; where-

fore he justly prays, saying, Forgive us as  
we forgive others; that is, he prays ac-  
cording to the Sense of the fifth Petition;  
for it is the Sense, not the very Words of  
that Petition, that he here recites.

But tho the Repetition of the Lord's  
Prayer was not necessary, yet it was usual;  
whence saith Origen,  
Christ gave us a  
Prayer, with which he

<sup>1</sup> Orandi legem. De  
Unit. Ecclesiæ, § 11. p.  
299.

<sup>2</sup> Ut aliter orare quam  
docuit, non ignorantia  
sola sit, sed & culpa. De  
Orat. Dominic. § 1. p.  
309.

<sup>3</sup> Unusquisque oret  
Deum non pro se tan-  
tum, sed pro omnibus  
fratribus, sicut Dominus  
orare nos docuit. Epist. 8.  
§ 6. p. 24.

<sup>4</sup> Οὐδέποτε τῶν εἰς  
αὐτὸν ἀμαρτησάντων  
μémνηται, ἀλλ' ἐὰν ὀίηται,  
εἰδὼ καὶ δικαίως εὐχεται  
ἄφεσις ἡμῖν, λέγων, καὶ γὰρ  
ἡμεῖς ἀφίεμεν. Strom.  
lib. 7. p. 537.

<sup>5</sup> Quâ patrem — nos  
jussit orare. In Isaiam,  
Homil. 1.



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commanded us to pray unto the Father. And

<sup>1</sup> Novam orationis formam determinavit. *De Oratione*, p. 657.

*Form of Prayer.*

<sup>2</sup> Legitima Oratio. *De fuga in Persecut.* p. 436.

<sup>3</sup> Orandi ipse formam dedit, ipse quid precaremur monuit & instruxit: Qui fecit vivere, docuit & orare— ut dum prece & oratione quam filius docuit, apud patrem loquimur, facilius audiamur— Quæ enim potest esse magis spiritualis Oratio, quam quæ verè à Christo nobis data est, à quo nobis & Spiritus Sanctus missus est? Quæ verè magis apud Patrem precatio, quam quæ à filio, qui est veritas, de ejus ore prolata est? Ut aliter orare quam docuit, non ignorantia sola sit sed & culpa—Oremus itaque fratres dilectissimi, sicut Magister Deus docuit. Amica & Familiaris Oratio

Tertullian writes

<sup>1</sup> That our Lord Jesus Christ gave his Disciples a

Whence he calls the the Lords Prayer

<sup>2</sup> The Lawful Prayer. And Cyprian yet more fully writes

that <sup>3</sup> Christ has given us a Form of Prayer, he hath admonished and instructed what we should pray for: He that made us live, hath taught us to pray that whilst we offer unto the Father the Prayer which the Son taught, we may be the more easily heard—For what Prayer can be more Spiritual than that which was given us by Christ who gave us also the Holy Spirit? And what Prayer can be

more prevalent with God, than that of his Son, who is the Truth proceeding out of his Mouth? so that to pray otherwise than he hath taught, is both Ignorance and Impiety. Let us pray therefore, dearly beloved Brethren, as God our Master hath taught us: It is a friendly and familiar Prayer to ask God with his own, and to present the Prayer of Christ to his Ears; the Father will acknowledg his Sons Words.

When we pray, let him that dwells in the Heart, be in the Voice; and since we have him an Advocate with the Father for our sins, when we beg pardon for our Sins, let us use the Words of our Advocate; and since he says, that whatsoever we shall ask of the Father in his Name, he will give it us; how much more efficaciously shall we prevail for what we beg in Christ's Name, if we ask it in his Prayer? To this Prayer it is that Tertullian gives

C 4

this

est Deum de suo rogare ad aures ejus ascendere Christi orationem, agnoscat pater filii sui verba: cum precem facimus, qui habitat intus in pectore, ipse sit & in voce: & cum ipsum habemus apud patrem advocatum pro peccatis nostris quando peccatores pro delictis nostris petimus, advocati nostri verba premamus. Nam cum dicat, quia quodcumque petierimus à Patre in nomine ejus, dabit nobis; quantò efficacius impetramus quod petimus in Christi nomine, si petamus ipsius oratione? De Orat. Dominic. § 1, 2. p. 309.

<sup>1</sup> Compendiis paucorum verborum, quot attinguntur edicta Prophetarum, Evangeliorum, Apostolorum, Sermones Domini, Parabolæ, exempla, præcepta. quot simul expunguntur Officia Dei, honor in patre; fides, testimonium in nomine, oblatio obsequii in voluntate, commemoratio spei in Regno, petitio vitæ in pane, exomologesis debitorum in deprecatione, sollicitudo tentationum, in postulacione tutelæ. Quid mirum! Deus solus docere potuit, ut se vellet orari. *De Orat.* p. 659.

*Watchfulness against Temptations in the Sixth. What Wonder! God alone could teach, how he would be prayed to.*

§ 7. But though they frequently used the Lords Prayer, yet they did not only use that, but other Prayers also; for immediately to the foregoing Encomium of the Lord's Prayer, *Tertullian* adjoins, *That*

this Encomium, <sup>1</sup> *In the Compendium of a few Words, how many Declarations of Prophets, Evangelists, and Apostles; how many Speeches, Paraboles, Examples and Precepts are contained! How many Duties towards God! Honour to God in the Preface, Faith in the first Petition, Hope in the Second, Resignation in the Third, Petition for Life in the Fourth, Confession of Sins in the Fifth,*



That we may add  
thereunto, and offer up  
Prayers unto God ac-  
cording to the Variety  
of our Circumstances  
and Conditions. From

<sup>2</sup> Posse nos super ad-  
jicere— & sunt quæ pe-  
tantur pro circumstantia  
cujusq; *De Oratione*, p.  
659.

which Passage of the said Father, we may  
guess their usual Method of Prayer was  
first to begin with the Lord's Prayer, as  
the Ground and Foundation of all others,  
and then according to thir Circumstances  
and Conditions to offer up their own  
Prayers and Requests. Now that this  
Conjecture may appear to have some  
Foundation, it will be necessary to tran-  
slate at large this place of *Tertullian*, and  
to shew the Introduction or Occasion of  
it, which was this: After this Father  
had, as before, Commented on, summ'd  
up, and magnify'd the Lord's Prayer, he

concludes that ne-  
vertheless <sup>2</sup> We may  
add thereunto; for  
since the Lord the Ob-  
server of all Humane  
Necessities, has in an-  
other place, after he  
had delivered this  
Prayer, said, Ask and  
ye shall receive: And

<sup>2</sup> Posse nos super ad-  
jicere. Quoniam tamen  
Dominus prospector hu-  
manarum necessitatum  
seorsim post traditam o-  
randi Disciplinam, Petite,  
inquit, & accipietis, &  
sunt quæ petantur, pro  
circumstantia cujusque,  
præmissa legitima & or-  
dinaria Oratione quasi  
fundamento, accidentium

every

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*jus est desiderium, jus est superstruendi extrinsecus petitiones, cum memoria tamen præceptorum: Ne quantum à præceptis tantum ab auribus Dei longè simus. Memoria Præceptorum viam orationibus sternit ad Cœlum quorum præcipuum est. Ibid. p. 659.*

*every one has particular Circumstances to beg for ; therefore having premised the lawful and ordinary Prayer, there is place for accidental Requests, and a Liberty of offering up other Petitions, so as*

*they do agree with the Precepts : As far as we are from the Precepts, so far are we from God's Ears ; the remembrance of the Precepts makes way for our Prayers to Heaven, of which it is the chief.*

Now these other Prayers, which made up a great part of Divine Service, were not stinted and imposed Forms, but the Words and Expressions of them were left to the Prudence, Choice and Judgment of every particular Bishop or Minister.

I do not here say, that a Bishop or Minister used no Arbitrary Form of Prayer ; all that I say is, that there was none imposed : Neither do I say, that having no imposed Form, they unpremeditatedly, immethodically or confusedly vented their Petitions and Requests ; for without doubt they observed a Method in their Prayers ; but this is what I say,  
That

That the Words or Expressions of their Prayers were not imposed or prescribed, but every one that officiated delivered himself in such Terms as best pleased him, and varied his Petitions according to the present Circumstances and Emergencies: Or if it be more intelligible, that the Primitive Christians had no stinted Liturgies, or Imposed Forms of Prayer.

Now this being a Negative in Matter of Fact, the bare Assertion of it is a sufficient Proof, except its Affirmative can be evinced. Suppose it was disputed, whether ever *St. Paul* writ an Epistle to the Church of *Rome*, the bare Negation thereof would be Proof enough that he did not, except it could be clearly evidenced on the contrary that he did: So unless it can be proved that the Ancients had fixed Liturgies and Prayer-Books, we may very rationally conclude in the Negative, that they had none at all.

Now as to these prescribed Forms there is not the least mention of them in any of the Primitive Writings, nor the least Word or Syllable tending thereunto that I can find, which is a most unaccountable Silence, if ever such there were, but rather some expressions  
inti-



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intimating the contrary ; as that famous controverted place of *Justin Martyr*, who describing the manner of the Prayer before the Celebration of the Lord's Supper, says, that the Bishop sent up

Prayers and Praises

<sup>1</sup> *Apolog. 2. p. 98.*

to God <sup>1</sup> with his ut-

most ability, ὅσον δύνα-

μις, that is, that he prayed with the best of his Abilities, Invention, Expression, Judgment and the like. I am not ignorant that there is another Sense given of ὅσον δύναμις, or, According to his Ability. But I must needs say, that I generally, if not always found this Phrase to include personal Abilities. Thus as to the Explanation of Scripture, *Origen* writes that

he would expound

<sup>2</sup> *Com. in Matth. Tom. 17. p. 487. Vol. 1.*

it, <sup>2</sup> according to his

Ability, ὅσον δύναμις,

and that he would

Comment on that Parable of the Blind Man, that was healed near *Jericho*, mentioned in *Luke 18.*

<sup>3</sup> *Com. in Matth. Tom. 16. p. 429. Vol. 1.*

35. <sup>3</sup> καὶ τὴν δύναμιν.

And so on the Parable concerning the Husband-man,

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid. Tom. 17. p. 463.*

<sup>4</sup> καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ; and on the Marriage of the

the Kings Son, <sup>1</sup> *κτὶ*

*τὸ παρῆσται δύναμιν;*

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid. Tom. 17. p. 474.*

and that he would

search out the Sense of the Gospel of

St. John, <sup>2</sup> *κτὶ δύνα-*

*μιν.* Now what doth

<sup>2</sup> *Com. in Johan. Tom.*

Origen intend, by his

<sup>1</sup> *p. 5. Vol. 2.*

searching out the

Sense, and expounding the meaning of

the Scriptures to the utmost of his Power

and Ability? Is it a bare reading and

transcribing of other Mens Works, or

an Employment of his own Abilities and

Studies to find out the Sense and Meaning

of them? Certainly every one will think

the latter to be most probable.

So as to the Argumentative Defense

of the Truth, Origen promises that he

would answer the Calumnies of Celsus,

<sup>3</sup> according to his

Power, *κτὶ τὸ παρῆσται*

<sup>3</sup> *Cont. Celsus, lib. 1. p. 2.*

*δύναμιν:* and that

he would defend and confirm his Argu-

ments against Celsus

<sup>4</sup> according to his

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid. lib. 1. p. 36.*

Power, *ὅσην δύναμιν:*

and demonstrate the reasonableness of

the Christian Reli-

gion, <sup>5</sup> according to

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid. lib. 6. p. 165.*

his Power, *ὅσην δύναμιν:*

and

and dispute against

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid. lib. 7. p. 332.**Celsus, <sup>1</sup> according to his Power, ὅση δύναμις.*

Now whether *Origen's* defending the Truth, and disputing against *Celsus* according to his utmost Ability and Power, consisted in a reading, or in a bare transcribing out of a Book, the written Arguments of other Men, or in an Employment of his own Abilities, Inventions and Expressions, is no difficult matter to determin.

I have not found one place, wherein this Phrase of ὅση δύναμις doth not comprehend personal Abilities; and several scores more might I cite, where it is so to be understood, which I shall omit, and mention only one more, spoken by *Origen* with respect to this Duty of Prayer, where it must of necessity imply personal Abilities, and that is in his

Book <sup>1</sup> *De Oratione,*<sup>2</sup> § 22. p. 134.

where he prescribes the Method and

Parts of Prayer, the first whereof was *Doxology*, wherein, says he, he that prays must bless God according to his Power, κατὰ δύναμιν, where κατὰ δύναμιν must signifie the Performers Abilities of Judgment and Expression, because it is not spoken of pre-



prescribed Words, but of a prescribed Method of Prayer; as if any one should desire me to inform him, how or in what Method he must pray; I tell him, as *Origen* doth in this place, that first he must begin with an Invocation of God by his Titles and Attributes; then he must proceed to praise God for his Mercies and Benefits, confessing withall his Ingratitude and Unfruitfulness; then beg pardon for past Sins, strength against future, and conclude all with praising God through Christ; and that he must do all this according to the utmost of his Ability. What could any one imagin, that I should intend by this Advice of following this Method to the utmost of his Power, by the exerting of his own Abilities, Understanding, Memory, Invention, Expression, and the like, since I direct him not to any prescribed Words, but only to the observation of those General Heads and Parts of Prayer.

So that the Ministers Praying *ὡς ἡ δύναμις*, or according to the utmost of his Ability, imports the exerting his Gifts and Parts in suitable Matter and apt Expressions; and that the Primitive Prayers were so, appears yet farther from a Passage in *Origen*, who thus explains that Verse in  
*Mat.*

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*Mat. 6.* But when ye pray, use not vain

Ἄλλα προσευχόμε-  
νοι, μὴ βαττολογήσω-  
μεν, ἀλλὰ δευλογήσω-  
μεν, βαττολογῶμεν δὲ  
ὅτι μὴ μωμοσκοπεῖντες  
ἑαυτοὺς, ἢ τὰς ἀναπεμ-  
πομένους τῆς εὐχῆς λόγους  
λέγουμεν τὰ διεφθαρμένα  
ἔργα, ἢ λόγους, ἢ νοήματα  
ταπεινὰ τυγχάνοντα, καὶ  
ἐπιληπτα, τῆς ἀφθαρσίας  
ἀλλότεια τὸ κτεῖν. De  
Oratione, § 10. p. 63.

when we utter those things which are filthy  
either to do, speak, or think, which are vile,  
worthily reprobable, and alienated from the  
Purity of the Lord. Surely this Caution  
had been needless of strictly observing  
the Words that they uttered, and this  
Fear had been groundless of expressing  
themselves undecently or sinfully, if they  
had had a Prayer-Book to recur to; but  
that they had no such Prayer-Book ap-  
pears yet more evidently from Tertullian,

Ἰλλυ. - suspicientes  
Christiani manibus ex-  
pansis, quia innocuis, ca-  
pite nudo, quia non eru-  
bescimus, denique sine monitore, quia de pectore  
oramus. Apolog. c. 30. p. 70.

Repetitions as the  
Heathens do, when we pray, let  
not Battologise, that  
is, use not vain Re-  
petitions, but Theo-  
logise: But we Bat-  
tologise, when we do  
not strictly observe  
our Selves, or the  
Words of Prayer,  
which we express,

says that - looking up  
to Heaven, they spread  
abroad their Hands

because

cause innocent ; uncovered their Heads, be-  
 cause not ashamed ; and without a Monitor,  
 cause they prayed from the Heart. Now  
 that is to be understood by praying from  
 the Heart, will best appear from enqui-  
 ring into what is opposed to it, viz. The  
 praying by a Monitor. Now the praying  
 by a Monitor, as is acknowledged by all,  
 is praying by a Book. But thus *Tertul-*  
*lian* affirms the Primitive Christians pray-  
 not ; We do not pray, saith he, with  
 Monitor, reading our Prayers out of a  
 book. No ; but on the contrary, we pray  
*Peccore, from the Heart*, our own Heart  
 and Soul dictating to us, what is most  
 proper and suitable to be asked, having  
 no need of any other Monitor besides.

Hence their Prayers were suited to  
 their Emergencies and present Circum-  
 stances, as *Tertullian*

writes, that *having*  
*remised the Lord's*  
*prayer, we may of-*  
*fer up accidental Re-*

*Præmissa legitima &*  
*ordinaria oratione, acci-*  
*dentium just es desiderii-*  
*orum. De Orat. p. 659.*

*quests and Petitions*, of which occasional  
 requests we find some Instances, as in the  
 sixteenth Epistle of *Cyprian*, where that  
 Father assures *Moses* and *Maximus* two

D

Roman



<sup>1</sup> Et quando in Sacrificiis precem cum plurimis facimus. *Ep.* 16. § 1. p. 44.

another Epistle where he congratulates Pope *Lucius* upon his Return from

<sup>2</sup> Hic quoque in Sacrificiis atque in Orationibus nostris non cessantes Deo — gratias agere, & orare pariter, ac petere, ut qui perfectus est atque perficiens, custodiat & perficiat in vobis confessionis vestrae gloriosam coronam. *Ep.* 38. § 2. p. 163.

of *Carthage* sent a Sum of Mony to the Bishops of *Numidia* for the Redemption of some Christian Captives, they desired

<sup>3</sup> In mentem habeatis in Orationibus vestris, & eis vicem boni operis in Sacrificiis & precibus repræsentetis. *Epist.* 6c. § 4. p. 167.

could add new Petitions, as their Occasions and Circumstances did require.

Roman Confession

<sup>1</sup> That he remember them in his Publick Prayers with his Congregation. And

nishment, he assures him, <sup>2</sup> That he will not cease in his Publick Prayers to thank God for so great Mercy, and to pray for him that was perfect to keep and perfect him the glorious Crown of his Confession. And so when the Church

those Bishops should remember them in their publick Prayers. So that their Prayers could not be stinted, invariable Forms, because they

*Firmilian*

*Firmilian* reports of an Exorcist Woman, that being acted by the Devil, she performed wondrous Feats, taking upon her to perform Ecclesiastical Administrations, as Baptize and Celebrate the Eucharist, the Elements whereof she Consecrated,

with an Invocation

to be despised, that

as seems to be

most agreeable unto

the Place, and to the *ἔκθρη δυνάμεις* of *Justin*

Martyr. The Matter, Invention and

Expression of that Prayer, wherewith

she consecrated the Elements, was not

mean or contemptible, but indifferently

well performed. So that it seems evident

that though the Method of their Prayers

might in the main be the same, yet even

one was left to follow his own Fancy

in Expression therein.

But that I may hasten to the Conclusion

of this Section, it is very unlikely

that they were obliged to prescribed

forms, because they never read a Sylla-

ble of their Prayers out of any Book

whatsoever, which is evident from their

Posture of Prayer, which was two-fold,

either with their Hands and Eyes lifted

up to Heaven, or with their Eyes shut:

that they prayed with their Eyes and

<sup>1</sup> Invocatione non contemptibili. *Apud Cyprian. Epist. 75. § 10. p. 238.*

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Hands lifted up to Heaven, has been ready shewn in the Third Section of Chapter, to which I shall only add

<sup>1</sup> Expandimus manus & dominica passone modulantes & orantes confitemur Christo. Tertul. de Orat. p. 659.

farther Observations, that stretched out the Hands in the Figure of a Cross.

That they also prayed with their Eyes shut, is evident from Origen, who having explained what is meant by the Injunction of our Saviour in *Matth. 6.* And when thou prayest, thou shalt not be as the Hypocrites are; for they love to pray standing in the Synagogues, and in the Corners of the Streets, that they may be seen of Men; verily, I say unto you, they have their Rewards, thus explains the following Verse, But thou, when thou prayest, enter thou into thy Closet, and when thou hast shut to thy Door, pray to thy Father which is in secret, and thy Father which seeth in secret

<sup>2</sup> Ὁ ὅ μὴ ὑποκριτὴς εἰς τὸ ἐαυτοῦ ταμεῖον, ὅπῃ τὸ ἐναποτεθεὶς αὐτοῦ πλῆτε, τῆς σοφίας καὶ γνώσεως θησαυρὸν ἑαυτοῦ αποκλείσας καὶ ἀνδραμῶς ἔξω θάων, μὴ ὅτι παρὰ τὸ ἔξω κεχλωῆς, πόσον τε καὶ

shall reward thee openly. <sup>2</sup> But he that is no Hypocrite, enters into the Closet of his Heart, to the Riches that are treasured there, and shutting



himself in amongst  
the Treasures of  
Wisdom and Know-  
ledge, and not fixing  
his Eyes on external  
Objects, as looking af-  
ter any thing without,  
and closing every Gate  
of the Senses, lest he  
could be drawn aside

Θύσαν τῶν αἰσθητικῶν ἀπο-  
κλείσας, ἵνα μὴ ἔλκηται  
ὑπὸ τῶν αἰσθητικῶν μήδε  
ἐκείνων ἢ φαντασία τῶν  
νῶν αὐτῶν ἐπεισκείνηται,  
προσέχεται τῶν τῶν τοιού-  
τον κρυπτῶν μὴ φάρον-  
τι, μήδε ἐγκαταλείποντι  
παῖσι, ἀλλ' ἐν αὐτῶν  
καλοικῶντισυμπέροντι  
αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ μονογενῆς.  
De Orat. § 9. p. 62, 63.

them, and their Species or Fancies should  
creep into his Mind, he prays the Father, who  
never flies from, or leaves such an one, but to-  
gether with the Son dwells in him. So the  
same Father writes, that a true Christian  
prays in every  
place, <sup>1</sup> closing the  
Eyes of his Senses, but  
directing those of his  
Mind. Now let them

<sup>1</sup> Μύσας τὰς τῆς αἰσθη-  
τικῆς ὀφθαλμοῦς, καὶ ἐγκά-  
τας τὰς τῆς ψυχῆς. Con-  
tra Celsum, lib. 7. p. 362.

have prayed in either of these postures,  
and it is very evident that they could  
read in neither of them; for it is very  
improbable that they could turn over the  
leaves of a Book, whilst their Hands  
were extended towards Heaven in the  
form of a Cross; or that they could  
read in a Book, whilst their Eyes were  
lifted up, or else quite shut and closed.

If therefore there had been prescribed and imposed Forms, they must of necessity have remembered them, which would have been an intolerable Load to the strongest Memory, especially to have repeated Word after Word the Prayers of their Fast Days, which must have been several Hours long, since some of their Fasts, as will be shewn in another Place, were prolonged from the Morning of one Day, to the beginning of another.

§ 8. There remains now but one Question more with respect to their Public Prayers, and that is, Whether they were divided into several Collects? To which I have not much certain to Answer probably on their Assemblies on Fast Days, when they continued together triple the usual time, for the Ease of the Bishop and his Assistants, they made several distinct Prayers, and probably at their Ordinary Meetings, their Prayer after Sermon was but one entire Piece. But all this is but Conjecture, all that is find positive is touching their Prayer that

that preceded the Consecration of the Eucharistical Elements, which, as *Iustin Martyr* writes, was one long Prayer, to which the People said Amen.

Ἡ εὐχαριστία ὑπὸ τῶν  
κατηξιώσθαι τέτων παρ  
αὐτῶν ὅτι πολὺ ποιῆται  
ἡ συνιέλευσις τὰς εὐ-  
χὰς καὶ τὴν εὐχαριστίαν  
πᾶς ὁ παρῶν λαὸς ἐπὶ  
φημεῖ λέγων Ἀμήν. Α-

polog. 2. p. 97.



C H A P. III.

- § 1. *Of Baptism: The Persons Baptizing*  
 § 2. *The Persons Baptized: First, Infants.* § 3. *Next, Adult Persons. The Qualifications that were required in them.*  
 § 4. *The manner of Baptism: The Person to be Baptized abjured the Devil, the World, and the Flesh, and gave his Assent to the Fundamental Articles of the Christian Faith.* § 5. *A Digression concerning the Ancient Creed. The Creed commonly call'd the Apostles, not known within the first Three Hundred Years after Christ. In those days they had other brief Summaries of Faith, agreeing in Sense, but not in Words.* § 6. *All the ancient Creeds transcribed in their Original Language.*  
 § 7. *The Creed, commonly call'd the Apostles, compared with the Ancient Creeds.*  
 § 8. *How the Creed was composed.*

§ 1. **H**AVING in the former Chapter discoursed of their Publick Prayers, I proceed in the next place to consider the Two Sacraments, viz. Baptism, and the Lord's Supper. And first of all, to treat of

of that of Baptism, together with its Appendix and Confirmation; for the more methodical and distinct handling whereof, I shall enquire into these three Things, viz. The Persons Baptizing, the Persons Baptized, and the manner of Baptism.

First, As to the Persons Baptizing, usually they were the Bishops or Pastors of their Respective Parishes, as *Justin Martyr* describes Baptism as performed by the

πρόεδρος, or <sup>1</sup> *President*;

<sup>1</sup> *Apolog. 2. p. 97.*

and *Tertullian*

<sup>2</sup> *De Coron. Milit. p.*

by the *Antistes*, or,

<sup>3</sup> *Superintendent*; and

336.

<sup>4</sup> by the *High Priest*,

<sup>3</sup> *Summus Sacerdos qui est Episcopus. De Baptism. p. 602.*

who is the *Bishop*; but

<sup>5</sup> with his *Permission*

<sup>4</sup> *Dehinc Presbyteri & Diaconi, non tamen sine Episcopi auctoritate—Laicis etiam jus est—sufficiat in necessitatibus. Ibidem, p. 602, 603.*

and *Consent*, It was

allowed to *Presbyters*

and *Deacons*; and in

case of *Necessity*, e-

ven to *Lay-men* to

Baptize; but <sup>6</sup> never

<sup>5</sup> *Mulier non tingendi jus sibi pariet. Ibid. p. 603.*

under any *necessity*

whatsoever was it per-

mitted to a *Woman* so to do.

§ 2. As for the Persons that were Baptized, they were two sorts, either Infants,

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Infants, or Adult Persons. That Infants were baptized, will be evident from this single Consideration. Baptism was always precedent to the Lord's Supper; and none were admitted to receive the Eucharist, till they were baptized. This is so obvious to every Man, that it needs no Proof: If any one doubts it, he may find it clearly asserted in the Second Apology of *Justin Martyr*, p. 97. Children received the Eucharist in the Primitive Church, which is also a thing so well known, as that for the Proof of it I shall

<sup>1</sup> Diaconus reluctanti licet, de Sacramento Calicis infudit. *De Lapsis*, § 20. p. 284.

only urge one Passage of <sup>1</sup> *Cyprian's*, where he tells a long Story of a Sucking Girl, who so violent-

ly refused to taste the Sacramental Wine, that the Deacon was obliged forcibly to open her Lips, and to pour down the Consecrated Wine. Therefore it naturally follows, that Children were baptized; for if they received that Ordinance, which always succeeded Baptism, then of necessity they must have received Baptism its self. But I needed not to have mentioned this Consideration, since Infant-Baptism is as clearly asserted in Words at length in the Primitive Writings, as a thing can possibly



possibly be. Thus Origen writes, that

Children are baptized for the Remission of their Sins, for the purging away of their natural Filth, and original Impurity which is inherent in them, according to Job 15. 14. What is Man that he should be clean? And he which is born of a Woman, that he should be righteous? And that of the Prophet Isaiah, chap. 4. v. 4.

When the Lord shall have washed away the Filth of the Daughter of Sion, and shall have purged the Blood of Jerusalem from the midst thereof. No one is clean from the Filth, no, though he lived but one day upon the Earth. Wherefore because through the Sacrament of Baptism the uncleannesses of our Birth are purged away, therefore Children are baptized. And the same Father Commenting on that place of our Saviour, Matth. 18. 10. See that ye despise not one of these little ones, alledges this as one Reason, why we should not do so, because

Parvuli baptizantur in Remissionem peccatorum; Quorum peccatorum? Vel quo tempore peccaverunt? Aut quomodo potest ulla lavacri in parvulis ratio subsistere, nisi juxta illum sensum de quo paulo ante diximus, nullus mundus a sorde, nec si unius diei quidem fuerit vita ejus super terram? Et quia per Baptismi Sacramentum nativitatis sordes deponuntur, propterea baptizantur & parvuli. In *Lucam Homil.* 14.

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cause of the Angels that guard him, on which reason he makes this Query,

Ἦν ποτε τῶν δαικνυμένων  
ὑπὸ τῶν σωτῆρων μικρῶν  
οἱ λεγόμενοι αὐτοῖς ἄγγε-  
λοι περιέστανται ποτερον  
δεξιμάτοι τὴν οἰκονομίαν  
ᾧ αὐτοῖς διοικεῖν ἀφ' ἧς  
διὰ λελθὼν παλιγγενε-  
σίας — ἢ ἀπὸ γενέσεως.  
Comment. in Mat. Tom.  
13. p. 331. Vol. I.

<sup>1</sup> At what time the  
Angels begin their  
Guardianship over  
those little ones, whe-  
ther at the time of  
their Birth or their  
Baptism? So that  
little ones were  
Baptized; by which

little ones he means Infants and Chil-  
dren, as is most evident from those o-  
ther Titles, which he gives them in the  
same Tome, as *παῖδια*, little Children, *νή-  
πια*, Infants; and in one place he sup-  
poses them to be

<sup>2</sup> Μέχρι τριῶν καὶ τε-  
τάρτων ἔτη. Ibid. p.  
321.

<sup>1</sup> under three or four  
years old.

To these Testimonies of Origen I might  
also add those of Irenaus, *Lib. 2. cap. 39. p.*  
*137.* and of Cyprian, *De Lapsis, § 7. p. 279.*  
But I shall chuse to wave them, because  
I would willingly translate at length the  
Determination of an African Synod,  
held Anno 254. whereat were present  
Threescore and Six Bishops; the occasion  
of which Determination was this: A  
certain Bishop called *Fidus*, had some  
Scruples,

Scruples, not concerning the Baptism of Infants, but concerning the time of their Baptism, whether they might be baptized before the Second or Third day after their Birth, or before the eighth day, as it was observed with respect to Circumcision under the Mosaical Oeconomy; the Reasons or Grounds for which his Scruples he proposed to this Synod, who having seriously examined them, unanimously decreed, That Childrens Baptism was not to be deferred so long, but that the Grace of God, or Baptism should be given to all, and most especially unto Infants, which Synodical Decree, because so pertinent to my purpose, I have at large transcribed as follows:

Quantum vero ad causam Infantium pertinet, quos dixisti intra secundum vel tertium diem quo nati sint constitutos baptizari non oportere; & considerandam esse legem Circumcisionis antiquæ, ut intra octavum diem eum

*As for the matter of Infants, whom, you said, were not to be Baptized within the Second or Third Day after their Nativity, or according to the Law of Circumcision within the eighth Day thereof; it hath appeared to us in our Council quite*

con-



qui natus est baptizandum & sanctificandum non putares ; longe aliud in consilio nostro omnibus visum est ; in hoc enim quod tu putabas esse faciendum, nemo consensit, sed universi potius iudicavimus, nulli hominum nato misericordiam Dei & gratiam denegandam; nam cum Dominus in Evangelio suo dicat, Filius hominis non venit animas hominum perdere, sed salvare; quantum in nobis est, si fieri potest, nulla anima perdenda est. Quid enim ei deest, qui semel in utero, Dei manibus formatus est? Nobis enim atque oculis nostris, secundum dierum

contrary ; no one maintained your Opinion, but we all judged That the Mercy and Grace of God was to be denied to no Man ; for since the Lord said in the Gospel, The Son of Man came not to destroy, but to save the Souls of Men ; therefore as much as lies in our Power, no Soul is to be lost ; for what is there defective in him, who has been once formed in the Womb by the Hands of God? To us indeed it seems, that Children encrease, as they advance in years; but yet whatever things are made by God, are perfected by the Work and Majesty of God their Maker. Besides, the Holy Scriptures declare

secularium cursum, accipere, qui nati sunt incrementum videntur: Cæterum quæcunque a Deo sunt, Dei factoris majestate & opere perfecta sunt. Esse deniq; apud omnes, sive infantes, sive majores natu, unam divini muneris æqualitatem, declarat nobis divinæ Scripturæ fides, cum Helisæus super Infantem Sunamitis Viduæ Filium qui mortuus jacebat, ita se Deum deprecans superstravit, ut capiti caput, & faciei facies applicaretur, & superfusi Helisæi membra singulis parvuli membris & pedes pedibus jungerentur. Quæ res si secundum nativitatis nostre & Corporis

clare, that both Infants and Adult Persons have the same Equality in the Divine Workmanship: When Elisha prayed over the Dead Child of the Sunamitish Widow, he lay upon the Child, and put his Head upon his Head, and his Face upon his Face, and his Body upon his Body, and his Feet upon his Feet. This may be thought improbable, how the small Members of an Infant should equal the big ones of a grown Man; but herein is expressed the Divine and Spiritual Equality, that all Men are equal, and alike, when they are made by God; that though the increase of our Bodies may cause an inequality

qualitatem cogitetur, adulto & provento infans non posset æquari, nec cohærere & sufficere possent parva membra majoribus. Sed illic æqualitas divina & spiritualis exprimitur, quod pares atque æquales sint omnes homines, quando a Deo semel facti sint, & possit ætas nostra in incrementis corporum secundum sæculum, non secundum Deum habere discrimen; nisi si & gratia ipsa, quæ baptizatis datur, pro ætate accipientium vel minor, vel major tribuitur; cum spiritus sanctus non de mensura, sed de pietate atq; indulgentia paterna æqualis omnibus præbeatur. Nam Deus ut personam non accipit, sic ne ætatem, cum se omnibus ad cœlestis gratiæ consecutionem æqualitate librata præbeat patrem.

*quality with respect to Men, yet not with respect to God; unless that that Grace, which is given to baptized Persons, be more or less according to the Age of the Receivers; but the Holy Ghost is given equally to all, not according to measure, but according to God's Mercy and Indulgence; for as God is no respecter of Persons, so neither of years; he equally offers to all the obtaining of his Heavenly Grace.*

*And*



Nam & quod vegetigium infantis, in primis partus sui diebus constituti, mundum non esse dixisti, quod unusquisque nostrum adhuc horreat osculari, nec hoc putamus ad cœlestem gratiam dandam impedimento esse oportere; scriptum est enim, omnia munda sunt mundis; nec aliquis nostrum id debet horrere, quod Deus dignatus est facere. Nam etsi adhuc infans a partu novus est, non ita est tamen, ut quisquam illum in gratia danda atque in pace facienda horrere debeat osculari, quando in osculo

*And whereas you say, that an Infant for the first Days after his Birth is unclean, so that every one is afraid to kiss him, this can be no Impediment to his Obtainment of Heavenly Grace; for it is written, to the Pure all things are pure; and none of us should dread that which God hath made; for although an Infant be newly born, yet he is not so, as that we should dread to kiss him; since in the kissing of an Infant, we ought to think upon the fresh Works of God, which in a manner we \* kiss in an Infant newly formed*

\* This they speak with reference to their Custom of Saluting one another at the Conclusion of their publick Assemblies.

infantis unusquisq;  
 nostrum pro sua re-  
 ligione ipsas adhuc  
 recentes Dei manus  
 debeat cogitare, quas  
 in homine modo  
 formato & recens  
 nato quodammodo  
 exosculamur, quan-  
 do id quod Deus fe-  
 cit, amplectimur.  
 Nam quod in Judai-  
 ca Circumcisione  
 carnali octavus dies  
 observabatur, Sacra-  
 mentum est in um-  
 bra atque in imagi-  
 ne ante præmissum,  
 sed veniente Christo  
 veritate completum.  
 Nam quia octavus  
 dies, id est, post Sab-  
 batum primus dies  
 futurus erat, quo Do-  
 minus resurgeret, &  
 nos vivificaret &  
 Circumcisionem no-  
 bis spiritualem da-  
 ret, hic dies octavus,  
 id est, post Sabba-

and born, when  
 embrace that whi  
 God : hath ma  
 And whereas the ca  
 nal Jewish Circu  
 cision was perform  
 on the eighth Da  
 that was a Type  
 Shadow of some  
 ture good thing  
 which, Christ  
 Truth being  
 come, is done away  
 because the Eigh  
 Day, or the Fir  
 Day after the Sab  
 bath, was to be  
 Day on which  
 Lord should rise  
 quicken us, and gi  
 us the Spiritual Ci  
 cumcision; therefor  
 was the Carnal Ci  
 cumcision on the eigh  
 Day, which Type  
 now abolished, Chri  
 the Truth being com  
 and having given  
 the Spiritual Circu  
 cision. Wherefore

in primus, & Dominicus præcessit in imagine, quæ imaginem præcessit superveniente postmodum veritate, & data non spirituali circumcisione. Propter hoc neminem potest a gratia consequenda impediens esse ea lege quæ statuta est; nec spiritualem circumcissionem impediri carnali circumcissione debere, sed omnem omnino hominem admittendum esse ad gratiam Christi, quando & Petrus in scribendis Apostolorum loquatur, & dicat, Dominus mihi dixit, neminem communem facendum & immundum.

Cæterum si homines impedire aliquid ad consecutionem gratiæ posset; magis adultos & perfectos & majores ætatu possent impe-

is our Judgment, that no one ought to be debarred from God's Grace by that Law, or that the Spiritual Circumcision should be hindered by the carnal one; but all men ought to be admitted to the Grace of Christ, as Peter saith in the Acts of the Apostles, that the Lord said unto him, that he should call no Man common or unclean.

But if any thing can hinder Men from Baptism, it will be heinous Sins, that will debar the Adult and Mature therefrom; and if those



dire peccata gravi-  
ora. Porro autem  
si etiam gravissimis  
delictoribus & in  
Deum multum an-  
te peccantibus, cum  
postea crediderint,  
remissa peccatorum  
datur, & a baptismo  
atque a gratia nemo  
prohibetur; quanto  
magis prohiberi  
non debet Infans, qui  
recens natus nihil  
peccavit, nisi quod  
secundum Adam  
carnaliter natus  
contagium mortis  
antique prima na-  
tivitate contraxit?  
Qui ad remissam  
peccatorum accipi-  
endam hoc ipso fa-  
cilis accedit, quod  
illi remittuntur non  
propria, sed aliena  
peccata & iccirco,  
frater charissime,  
hæc fuit in concilio  
nostra sententia, a

who have sinned ex-  
tremely against God  
yet if afterwards they  
believe, are baptized  
and no Man is pro-  
hibited from this Grace  
how much more ought  
not an Infant to be  
prohibited, who being  
but just born, is guilty  
of no Sin, but of Ori-  
ginal, which he con-  
tracted from Adam.  
Who ought the more  
readily to be received  
to the remission of  
Sins, because not his  
own, but others sins  
are remitted to him.  
Wherefore, dearly be-  
loved, it is our Opini-  
on, that from Bap-  
tism, and the Grace  
of God, who is mer-  
ciful, kind and be-  
nign to all, none ought  
to be prohibited by us,  
which as it is to be  
observed and followed  
with respect to all

ptismo atque a  
 atia Dei, qui om-  
 bus misericors &  
 gnus, & pius est,  
 minem per nos  
 bere prohiberi.  
 od cum circa u-  
 versos observan-  
 m sit atque reti-  
 ndum, tum ma-  
 s circa infantes

*so especially with re-  
 spect to Infants, and  
 those that are but just  
 born, who deserve  
 our Help, and the Di-  
 vine Mercy, because  
 at the first instant of  
 their Nativity, they  
 beg it by their Cries  
 and Tears.*

os & recens natos observandum puta-  
 es, qui hoc ipso de ope nostra, ac de  
 vna misericordia plus merentur, quod  
 primo statim nativitatis suæ ortu  
 prantes ac flentes nihil aliud faciunt  
 am deprecantur. *Apud Cyprian. Epist.*

§ 2, 3, 4. p. 164, 165.

So that here is as Formal, Synodical  
 decree for the Baptism of Infants as pos-  
 sibly can be expected; which being the  
 judgment of a Synod, is more authentick  
 and cogent than that of a private Father,  
 being supposable, that a private Fa-  
 ther might write his own particular  
 judgment and Opinion, but the Determi-  
 nations of a Synod or Council, denote

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the common Practice and Usage of  
Whole Church.

§ 3. It is evident then, that Infants were baptised in the Primitive Ages ; as for the Baptism of the Adult, that being own'd by all, it will be needless to prove it. These were Persons grown up Years, able to judge and chuse for themselves, who relinquished Paganism and came over to the Christian Faith. What Qualifications were required of them previous or antecedent to Baptism need not here relate, since I have already handled this Point in the Sixth Chapter of the former Treatise, to which I refer the Reader. In short, such as were first instructed in the Christian Faith, continued some time in the Rite

Ὅσοι ἂν παιδῶσι καὶ  
πρεσβυτέρῳ ἀληθῶς ταῦτα  
τὰ ὑφ' ἡμῶν διδασκα-  
λικά καὶ λεγόμενα εἶναι καὶ  
βίβλιν ἔπος δύνασθαι ὑ-  
πογράψανται — ἐπεὶ αὖ-  
ρονται ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἐν δα-  
κτύλῳ ὄντι. &c. Just. Mart.  
Apol. 2. p. 93.

of the Catechumen  
till <sup>1</sup> they had given  
good Proofs of their  
Resolutions to lead  
pious, religious Lives  
and had protested  
their Assent and Con-  
sent to all the Chris-  
tian Verities, and the

they were solemnly baptized. Which brings me to the third thing proposed, viz. The manner



manner of Baptism, which for the main was, as follows.

§ 4. The Person to be baptized was first asked several Questions by the Bishop, or by him that Officiated, unto which he was to give his Answer, concerning which Baptismal Questions and Answers *Dionysius Alexandrinus* speaks in his Letter to *Xystus* Bishop of Rome, wherein he writes of a certain scrupulous Person in his Church, who was exceedingly troubled, when he was present at Baptism, and <sup>1</sup> heard the

<sup>1</sup> Καὶ ὅς ἐπερωτήσεων καὶ ἀποκρίσεων ἐπαχέσας. Apud. Euseb. lib. 7. c. 9. p. 254.

<sup>2</sup> Usitata & Legitima verba interrogationis. Apud Cyprian. Ep. 75. § 10. p. 238.

Questions and Answers of those that were Baptized. Which Questions *Firmilian* styles <sup>2</sup> the lawful and usual Interrogatories of Baptism. Now these Questions and

Answers were two-fold: First, Of Abjuration of the Devil and all his Works: And, Secondly, Of a Firm Assent to the Articles of the Christian Faith. First, Of Abjuration. The Minister proposed this Question to the Party baptized, or to this Effect, *Do you renounce the Devil, the*  
E 4 *World,*

World, and the Flesh? To which he answered, Yes. So writes Tertullian

<sup>1</sup> Contestamur nos renunciare Diabolo & Pompæ & Angelis ejus. *De Corona Militis*, p. 336.

<sup>2</sup> Renunciassè nos Diabolo & Pompæ & Angelis ejus ore nostro contestamur. *De Spectac.* p. 583.

<sup>3</sup> Renunciavimus Diabolo & Angelis ejus. *De Idololat.* p. 618.

<sup>4</sup> Pactus es renunciare Diabolo, & Pompæ & Angelis ejus. *Lib. de Anima*, c. 17. p. 554.

<sup>5</sup> Vocati sumus ad militiam Dei vivi, jam tunc cum in Sacramenti verba spondimus. *Ad Mar-tyr.* p. 367.

<sup>6</sup> Sæculo renunciavimus cum baptizati sumus. *Ep. 7.* § 5. p. 20.

<sup>7</sup> Mundi pompis & deliciis jam tunc renunciavimus. *De Hab. Virg.* § 6. p. 267.

<sup>1</sup> When we are baptized, we renounce the World, the Devil and his Angels. And

<sup>2</sup> with our Mouth we have vowed to renounce the World, the Devil and his Angels. And

<sup>3</sup> We have renounced the Devil and his Angels. And

<sup>4</sup> Thou hast covenanted to renounce the World, the Devil, and his Angels. And

<sup>5</sup> We were called to the Warfare of the Living God, when we promised in the Words of Baptism. To the

same effect also says Cyprian, <sup>6</sup> When we were baptized, we renounced the World.

And <sup>7</sup> We have renounced the World, its Poms and Delights.

lights. And <sup>1</sup> The  
Servant of God has  
renounced the Devil  
and the World. And,  
We have renounced  
the World, and by the  
Faith of Spiritual  
Grace have cast off  
its Riches and Pomps.  
And, <sup>2</sup> We have re-  
nounced the Devil,  
and the World. And  
so likewise faith  
Clemens Alexandri-  
nus, that in Baptism  
<sup>4</sup> we renounced the  
Devil.

<sup>1</sup> Dei servus—Diabo-  
lo jam renunciarat & Sæ-  
culo. *De Lapsis*, § 6. p.  
279.

<sup>2</sup> Sæculo renunciavi-  
mus & Divitias ejus &  
Pompas fide gratiæ spi-  
ritualis abjecimus. *De O-  
rat. Dom.* § 14. p. 213.

<sup>3</sup> Diabolo & Mundo  
renunciavimus. *De Bono  
Patientia*, § 7. p. 365.

<sup>4</sup> Ἀποταξομένων ἡ-  
μῶν τῶν πονηρῶν ἀρχαῖς.  
Theod. Epist. p. 573.

The Second Question was, Whether the  
Party to be Baptized *did believe all the*  
*Articles of the Christian Faith*, to which  
he answered, Yes, as *Justin Martyr* writes,  
*that those who were*  
*to be baptized, were to*  
*give their Assent to*  
*the things that were*  
*taught and held by*  
*them.* So *Cyprian*

<sup>5</sup> Ὅσοι ἂν πειθῶσι  
καὶ πιστεύουσιν ἀληθεῖ ταύ-  
τα τὰ ὑφ' ἡμῶν διδασ-  
κόμια καὶ λεγόμενα εἶναι.  
&c. *Apolog. 2.* p. 93.

writes, that at Baptism they asked the  
Baptised Person's Assent to this Creed,  
<sup>1</sup> *Whether*



<sup>2</sup> Symbolo baptizare, nosse Deum Patrem, Filium Christum, Spiritum Sanctum, credis remissionem peccatorum, & vitam æternam per Sanctam Ecclesiam? *Epist.* 76. § 6. p. 248.

<sup>3</sup> Credis in vitam æternam, & remissionem peccatorum per sanctam Ecclesiam? *Epist.* 70. § 2. p. 211.

Articles of Faith to which the Baptized Persons gave their Assent, are called by

<sup>3</sup> Symboli legem. *Epist.* 76. § 6. p. 248.

<sup>4</sup> Regula veritatis. *De Trinitate inter Opera Terat.* p. 493.

<sup>1</sup> Whether he believed in God the Father Son, and Holy Ghost remission of Sins, and eternal Life through the Church? And that at Baptism they asked, <sup>2</sup> Dost thou believe the Life everlasting, and remission of Sins through the Holy Church? These

Cyprian <sup>3</sup> The Law of the Symbol. And by Novatian, <sup>4</sup> The Rule of Truth.

§ 5. And here since we have mentioned the Symbol, it will be no unuseful Digression to enquire a little into the Ancient Creeds; for as for that Creed, which is commonly called the Apostles, all Learned Persons are now agreed, that it was never composed by them, neither do I find it within my prescribed Time: But though they had not that, yet they had other Creeds very like there-

unto

unto, which contained the fundamental Articles of the Christian Faith, unto which all Christians gave their Assent and Consent, and that publicly at Baptism; whence, as before it is called by Cyprian, *The Law of the Symbol*; and by Novatian, *The Rule of Truth*.

This Creed was handed down from Father to Son, as a brief Summary of the necessary Scripture Truths, not in *ipsissimis verbis*, or in the same set Words, but only the Sense or Substance thereof, which is evident, from that we never find the Creed twice repeated in the same Words, no, not by one and the same Father; which that it may the more manifestly appear, as also that we may see the Congruity and Affinity of the Ancient Creeds with our Present Creed, commonly call'd the Apostles, I shall Transcribe in their Original Language all the whole Creeds, and Pieces of Creeds, that I find within my limited Bounds, which, together with the Authors wherein they are to be found, are as follows.

§. 6. Κοράθυλε ἐν ἔταν ὑμῶν χεῖρς  
 Ἰνζῶ Χεῖςῶ λαλῇ πς τῶ ἐκ γένος  
 Δαβιδ

Δαβίδ, τῷ ἐκ Μαρίας ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐγεν-  
νήθη, ἔραγεν τε καὶ ἔπεν, ἀληθῶς ἐδιώχθη  
ἐπὶ Ποντίας Πιλάτου, ἀληθῶς ἐσαυροφθῆ,  
καὶ ἀπέθανεν, βλεπόντων τῶν ἐπεραγίων,  
ἐπιγείων, καὶ ὑποχθονίων, εἰς καὶ ἀληθῶς  
ἠγέρθη ἀπὸ νεκρῶν, ἐγείραντο αὐτὸν τὰ  
πατρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ ὁμοίωμα ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς  
τὰς πειδύοντάς αὐτάς, ἕως ἐγερῆς ὁ πα-  
τὴρ αὐτοῦ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ. Ignat. Epist.  
ad Tralles. p. 52.

Ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἐκκλησία καίπερ καθ' ὅλης  
τῆς οὐκέρμενης ἕως περὶ τῶν δεισσοφ-  
μῶν, ὡς καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν ἐκεί-  
νων μαθητῶν ὡς λαβὼσα τὴν εἰς ἕνα  
Θεὸν πάρεα παντοκράτορα τὴν πεπονη-  
κίαν τὴν ἐρανὴν καὶ τὴν γλῶσσαν καὶ τὰς δι-  
δάσκαλους, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς, πῶς, καὶ εἰς  
ἕνα Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸ σα-  
κιδέντα ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡμετέρας σωτηρίας, καὶ  
εἰς πνῶμα ἅγιον τὸ διὰ τῶν περὶ τῶν  
κεκρυμμένων τὰς οἰκονομίας καὶ τὰς ἐλπί-  
σεις, καὶ τὴν ἐκ παρθένης γέννησιν, καὶ τὸ  
πάθος, καὶ τὴν ἔγερσιν ἐκ νεκρῶν, καὶ τὴν  
ἐνσαρκίαν εἰς τὰς ἐρανὲς ἀνάληψιν τοῦ ἡ-  
γαπημένου Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν  
καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῶν ἐρανῶν ἐν τῇ δόξῃ τοῦ  
πατρὸς παρδείαν αὐτοῦ, ἐπὶ τὸ ἀνακρί-  
ναι.



καταλαμβάνει τὰ πάντα, καὶ ἀναστῆσαι  
 πᾶσαν σάρκα πᾶσι ἀνθρώποις,  
 ἵνα Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν, καὶ Θεῷ,  
 καὶ σωτῆρι, καὶ βασιλεῖ καὶ τῷ εὐδοκίαν  
 τῶ πατρὸς τῷ ἀρεστῷ πᾶν γένος καὶ φύ-  
 λος ἐκκλησιῶν καὶ ὁπτιγίων καὶ κατὰ χρο-  
 νίων, καὶ πᾶσα γλῶσσα ἐξομολογήσεται  
 αὐτῷ, καὶ κρίσιν δικαίαν ἐν τοῖς πᾶσι ποι-  
 ῇται. τὰ μὲν πνευματικὰ τὴ πονηρίας,  
 καὶ ἀγγέλους τὰς ὡδὲ βεβηκότας, καὶ ἐν  
 ἀποστασίᾳ γενονότας, καὶ τὰς ἀσεβεῖς, καὶ  
 ἀδίκους, καὶ ἀνόμους, καὶ βλασφήμους τῶ  
 ἀνθρώπων εἰς τὸ αἰώνιον πῦρ πέμψῃ,  
 τοῖς δὲ δικαίοις καὶ ὁσίοις, καὶ τὰς ἐντο-  
 λὰς αὐτοῦ τελειηκόσι, καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀγάπῃ  
 αὐτοῦ διαμεμνηκόσι τοῖς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, τοῖς  
 δὲ ἐκ μετάνοιας, ζῶντες χαρίζεται,  
 ἀρετὰς δαξήσεται καὶ δόξαν αἰώνιον  
 ποιήσει. Irenæus, lib. i. c. 2. p. 35, 36.

Credo in unum Deum fabricatorem  
 Cœli ac Terræ, & omnium quæ in eis  
 sunt, per Christum Jesum Dei Filium,  
 qui propter eminentissimam erga Fi-  
 gmentum suum dilectionem, eam quæ esset  
 ex Virgine, generationem sustinuit, ipse  
 per se hominem adunans Deo, & passus  
 sub Pontio Pilato, & resurgens, & in  
 claritate

claritate receptus, in gloria venturus  
 Salvator eorum qui salvantur, & Judex  
 eorum qui judicantur, & mittens in ig-  
 nem æternum transfiguratōes veritatis,  
 & contemptores patris sui & adventus  
 ejus. *Irenæus, lib. 3. cap. 4. p. 172.*

Regula est autem Fidei, ut jam hinc  
 quid credamus, profiteatur, illa scilicet,  
 qua creditur unum omnino Deum esse,  
 nec alium præter mundi creatorem, qui  
 universa de nihilo produxerit per verbum  
 suum, primo omnium amissum: id ver-  
 bum Filium ejus appellatum in nomine  
 Dei, varie visum Patriarchis, in Prophe-  
 tiis semper auditum, postremo delatum  
 ex spiritu patris Dei & virtute in Virgi-  
 nem Mariam, carnem factum in utero  
 ejus, & ex ea natum, egisse Jesum Chri-  
 stum, exinde prædicasse novam legem &  
 novam promissionem Regni Cœlorum,  
 virtutes fecisse, fixum cruci tertia die  
 resurrexisse, in cœlos ereptum, sedere ad  
 dexteram patris, misisse vicariam vim  
 spiritus sancti, qui credentes agant, ven-  
 turum cum claritate ad sumendos sanctos  
 in vitæ eternæ, & promissorum cœlestium  
 fructum, & ad Prophanos judicandos ig-  
 ni perpetuo, facta utriusque partis re-  
 suscitatione cum carnis restitutione. Hæc  
 regula

regula a Christo — instituta nullas habet  
apud nos quæstiones, nisi quas hæreses in-  
ferunt, & quæ hæreticos faciunt. *Tertul.*  
*de Præscript. advers. Hæret. p. 73.*

Unicum quidem Deum credimus, sub  
hac tamen dispensatione quam *οικονομίαν*  
dicimus, ut unicus Dei sit & Filius Sermo  
ipsius, qui ex ipso processerit, per quem  
omnia facta sunt, & sine quo factum est  
nihil; hunc missum a patre in Virginem,  
& ex ea natum hominem & Deum, filium  
hominis & filium Dei, & cognominatum  
Jesum Christum, hunc passum, hunc mor-  
tuum & sepultum secundum scripturas, &  
resuscitatum a Patre, & in cælo resum-  
ptum, sedere ad dexteram patris, ventu-  
rum judicare vivos & mortuos, qui exinde  
miserat secundum promissionem suam a  
patre spiritum sanctum Paracletum, sancti-  
ficatorem fidei eorum qui credunt in pa-  
trem, & filium, & spiritum sanctum. Hanc  
regulam ab initio Evangelii decucurrisse,  
&c. *Tertul. advers. Praxean. p. 316.*

Regula Fidei una omnino est, sola im-  
mobilis & irreformabilis credendi scilicet  
in unicum Deum omnipotentem, mundi  
conditorem, & filium ejus Jesum Christum,  
natum ex Virgine Maria, crucifixum sub  
Pontio



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Pontio Pilato, tertio die resuscitatum mortuis, receptum in cœlis, sedente nunc ad dexteram patris, venturum judicare vivos & mortuos, per carnis etiam resurrectionem. *Tertullian de Virginib. v. land. p. 385.*

Πισδύσον ἔτι εἰς ὅτιν ὁ Θεός, ὁ πάντα κτίσας καὶ καταρτίσας καὶ ποιήσας ἔκ τῃ μὴ ὄντα εἰς τὸ εἶναι τὰ πάντα, χρὴ ἢ καὶ πισδεῖν ἔτι Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν καὶ πάσῃ τῇ ἀρετῇ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῇ δευτερίᾳ καὶ τῇ ἀνδραγαθότητι ἀληθείᾳ, δεῖ καὶ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα πισδεῖν, καὶ ὅτι αὐτοῖς ὄντες κολαζόμεθα μὲν ἐφ' ὅς αἱμαρτάνομεν, τιμώμεθα ἢ ἐφ' ὅς ἐν πελάτῳ μαρτυροῦμεν.  
Origen. Comment. in Johan. Tom. 3. p. 397. Vol. 2.

Unus Deus est, qui omnia creavit, atque composuit, quique ex nullis fecit esse universa, Deus a prima creatura & conditione mundi omnium justorum, Adam, Abel, Seth, Enos, &c. & quod hic Deus in novissimis diebus, sicut per Prophetas suos ante promiserat, misit Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, primo quidem vocaturum Israel, secundo vero etiam gentes.

est perfidiam populi Israel. Hic Deus  
pater & bonus pater domini nostri Jesu  
Christi, Legem & Prophetas & Evangelia  
dedit, qui & Apostolorum Deus est,  
veteris & novi Testamenti: Tum de-  
inde quia Jesus Christus ipse qui venit,  
ante omnem creaturam natus ex patre est:  
cum in omnium conditione patri mi-  
strasset (per ipsum enim omnia facta sunt)  
vixissimis temporibus seipsum exinaniens  
homo factus est, incarnatus est cum Deus  
esset, & homo mansit quod Deus erat.  
Corpus assumpsit corpori nostro simile, eo  
modo differens, quod natum ex Virgine &  
Spiritu sancto est, & quoniam hic Jesus  
Christus natus & passus est in veritate, &  
non per imaginem, communem hanc  
mortem vere mortuus est; vere enim a  
morte resurrexit, & post resurrectionem  
conversatus cum Discipulis suis assumptus

Tum deinde honore ac dignitate Patri  
Filio sociatum tradiderunt Spiritum  
sanctum, in hoc non jam manifeste discer-  
itur, utrum natus aut innatus. Sed in-  
terpreta jam ista pro viribus sunt de Sa-  
criptura, & sagaci perquisitione inve-  
stiganda, sane quod iste Spiritus sanctus  
unumquemque sanctorum vel Prophetarum,  
vel Apostolorum inspiravit, & non

alius Spiritus in veteribus, alius vero his, qui in adventu Christi inspirati sunt manifestissime in Ecclesiis prædicatur. Per hæc jam, quod anima substantiam, vitamque habens propriam, cum ex hoc mundo discesserit, & pro suis meritis dispensabitur sive vitæ æternæ ac beatitudinis hæreditate potitura, si hoc ei sua gesta præstiterint; sive igne æterno ac suppliciis macipanda, si in hoc eam scelerum culpa detorferit. Sed & quia erit temporis resurrectionis mortuorum, cum corpus hoc quod in corruptione seminatur surgat in incorruptione, & quod seminatur in ignominia, surget in gloria. *Origen. Proam. lib. πρὸ ἀρχῶν.*

Credis in Deum Patrem, Filium Christum, Spiritum Sanctum, remissionem peccatorum, & Vitam Æternam per Sanctam Ecclesiam? *Cyprian. Epist. 76. p. 248.*

Ἐἰς Θεὸς πατὴρ λόγος ζωὴν, αἰὲς ὑπερῶς, καὶ δυνάμεις, καὶ χάρις τῆς αἰδῆς, τέλει τελεῖς γεννητὰ πατὴρ ὁ μονογενὴς, εἰς κτίσιν, μὴ ἑκ μόνου, Θεὸς ἐκ Θεοῦ, χαρὰ καὶ χάρις καὶ δόξα, λόγος ἐνεργὴς, σὺν



τῆς ὅλων συστάσεως ὡς ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ δύ-  
 μιν ὡς ὅλης κτίσεως ποιητικὴν, υἱὸς ἀλη-  
 θινῆς ἀληθινῶν πατέρων, ἀόρατον ἀοράτως,  
 ἀφθαρτον ἀφθάρτως, καὶ ἀθάνατον  
 ἀθάνατος, καὶ αἰδίδω αἰδίδω καὶ ἐν πνεύμα  
 τῶν, ἐκ Θεῶ τῶν ὑπαρξάντων ἔχων, καὶ δι  
 περὶ ὧν, διηλαδὴ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εἰ-  
 ν τῶ υἱῶ, τελεία τελεία ζωὴ, ζώντων  
 τῶν, πηγὴ ἀγάπης, ἀγάπης, ἀγαθῶν χρ-  
 ῶν, ἐν ᾧ φανερεῖται Θεὸς ὁ πατὴρ ὁ  
 πᾶντων καὶ ἐν πᾶσι καὶ Θεὸς ὁ υἱὸς ὁ  
 πᾶντων, τελεία τέλεια, δόξα καὶ  
 δόξα καὶ βασιλεία μὴ μελλομένη,  
 ἀπαλοιομένη. Gregor. Neo-  
 cesar.

§ 7. These are all the Creeds that I  
 have met with, in which the Words are  
 various, but generally recurring to the  
 same Sense: It would be too tedious to  
 translate them all; wherefore I shall sum  
 them up in the Creed, commonly call'd  
 the Apostles, and thereby shew their  
 congruity and Agreement, as also, what  
 in the Apostles Creed more than in these.  
 Now the Articles of the Apostles Creed,  
 that are to be found in the foremention-  
 ed Creeds, are as follows:

*I believe in God the Father Almighty Maker of Heaven and Earth, and in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord, who conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary, suffered under Pontius Pilate was crucified, dead, and buried — Third Day he rose again from the Dead, ascended into Heaven, sitteth at the Right Hand of God the Father Almighty, from whence he shall come to judge both the Quick and the Dead. I believe in the Holy Ghost, the Holy Catholick Church — the Forgiveness of Sins, the Resurrection of the Dead, and the Life everlasting.*

Here are now two Clauses of our present Creed wanting, viz. *He descended into Hell*, and, *The Communion of Saints.*

§ 8. If we would know how they were added, we must first consider how the whole Creed was framed, which I conceive was done these two ways. First, Some of the Articles were derived down from the very days of the Apostles. Secondly, Others were afterwards added in opposition to Heresies as they sprung up in the Church.

First, Some of the Articles were derived down from the very days of the Apostles, such were these, *I believe in God, the Father,* (or as the Greek Creeds read it, *in one God, the Father,* in opposition to the Polytheism of the Heathens) *and in Jesus Christ his only begotten Son our Lord: I believe in the Holy Ghost, the Resurrection of the Body, and the Life everlasting.* For in the days of the Apostles, as well as afterwards, it was the Practice at Baptism to demand the baptized Person's Consent to the fundamental Articles of the Christian Faith, as

*Philip did the Eunuch,* 1 Acts 8. 37.

Amongst which Fun-

damentals we may be certain they reckoned the Doctrin of the Trinity, because they were baptized in the Name, and Dedicated to the Service of the Trinity; and that of the Unity of the Godhead, because it was the great drift and design of their Preaching to overturn the Pagan multiplicity of Deities; and that of the Resurrection of the Body, and the Life everlasting, because that was the characteristick or Peculiar Doctrin of the Christian Religion, by which it was eminently distinguished from other Sects and Opinions, and was the only Comfort



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and support of the Christians under  
their Sufferings and Martyrdoms, according

<sup>1</sup> 1 Cor. 15. 29.

ing to that of *Paul*, <sup>1</sup> *If the dead rise not at all,*

*are they then baptized for the Dead?*

As for the other Articles of the Creed viz. Such as are predicated of Christ, *His being conceived of the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary, &c.* and those other two, *The Holy Catholick Church, and, The Forgiveness of Sins,* I conceive them to be introduced the second way, viz. in opposition to Heresies, as they sprung up in the Church, as, *was conceived by the Holy Ghost,* in opposition to the *Carpocratians, Ebionites, and Cerinthians,* who taught that Christ was born in the ordinary and common way as other Men and Women are: *Was born of the Virgin Mary, suffered under Pontius Pilate, &c.* in contradiction to the *Docetae, Simonians,* and others, who affirmed Christ to be a Man not really, but only Phantastically, or in appearance; of which Hereticks *Ignatius*

<sup>2</sup> Ἄριστοι πνευ λέγουσιν τὸ δοκεῖν αὐτὸν πεπονθέναι. Epist. ad Smirn. p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> speaks, and again mentions them his forementioned Creed seen particularly to be levelled. *The Re-*

*mission*

mission of Sins, against the *Basilidians*, who held that not all Sins, but only involuntary ones would be remitted; or rather against the *Novatians*, who denied remission to the Lapsed: *The Holy Catholick Church*, to exclude thereby all Hereticks and Schismatics from being within the Pale thereof.

By these two ways then was the Creed composed, and by the latter hereof were those two Articles introduced, of Christs Descent into Hell, and of the Communion of Saints. The Communion of Saints was brought in last of all. The Descent into Hell towards the latter end of the Fourth Century, into the manner and occasion whereof, as also the intent and meaning of this Article, I had designed once to enquire, having made some Collections concerning it; but finding I should be then forc'd to pass the Limits of my prescribed time, I have thought it expedient to omit it, and to return to those Points, from whence I have so long digressed.

## CHAP. IV.

§ 1. Of Godfathers. § 2. Exorcism preceded Baptism: The Form and Reason thereof. § 3. Next came Baptism itself: The Sacramental Water consecrated by Prayer. § 4. The Person Baptized in the Name of the Trinity. § 5. Immersion or dipping generally used. § 6. Sometimes Perfusion, or Sprinkling. The Validity thereof considered. § 7. After Baptism followed Prayers.

§ 1. **H**AVING in the former Chapter made a little Digression, I now return to the matter that first occasioned it, which was, the Questions proposed to the Persons to be baptized, unto which Adult Persons answered for themselves, and *Susceptors*, or, *Godfathers*, for Children. Of these *Susceptors* or *Sponsors* *Tertullian* speaks, where he thus adviseth

the delay of Childrens Baptism, *What necessity is there that Sponsors should expose*  
*Quid enim necessesse est sponsores etiam periculo ingeri, qui & ipsi per mortalitatem destitute promissiones suas possunt, & proventu malae indolis falli? De Baptism. p. 603.*

there



themselves to danger, who through Death may fail of the Performance of their Promises, or may be deceived by the wicked Disposition of those they promise for? Whether the use of Sponsors was from the Apostles Days, I cannot determin, unless the Negative may be conjectured from *Justin Martyr*, *Tertullian's* Senior by Fifty Years, who when he enumerates the Method and Form of Baptism, says not one Word of Sponsors or Godfathers, as may be seen in his Second Apology, pag. 93, 94.

§ 2. When these Questions and Answers were ended, then followed Exorcization, the manner and end whereof was this: The Minister put his Hands on the Persons Head that was to be Baptized, and breathed in his Face, implying thereby the Exorcization or expelling of the Devil or Evil Spirit from him, and a preparing of him for Baptism and Confirmation, when and where the good and holy Spirit was conferred and given.

This Practice I find mentioned by *Clement Alexandrinus*, who speaks of the *ἡ ἐξορκισμὸς*, or Exorcism before Baptism, but more

*Theodot. Epitom. p. 573.*

fully

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fully by some of those Bishops that were present at that famous Council of Carthage, held Anno 258. in whose Determinations Exorcization is required as previous and antecedent to Baptism. Thus in

<sup>1</sup> Censeo omnes Hæreticos & Schismaticos qui ad Catholicam Ecclesiam voluerint venire, non ante ingredi, nisi exorcizati & baptizati prius fuerint. *Apud Cyprian.* P.445.

till they have been first Exorcized and Baptized. So also said Lucius Bishop of The-

<sup>2</sup> Hæreticos — censeo exorcizandos & baptizandos esse. *Ibid.* p.447.

thus more clearly

<sup>3</sup> Hæreticos scimus peiores esse quam ethnicos, si ergo conversi ad Dominum venire voluerint, habemus utique regulam veritatis, quam Dominus præcepto divino mandavit Apostolis, dicens : Ite in nomine meo, manum imponite, Dæmonia ex-

that of Crescens Bishop of Circa, <sup>1</sup> judge saith he, that all Hereticks and Schismaticks, who would come to the Catholick Church, are not to be admitted,

beste, <sup>2</sup> It is my Opinion that all Hereticks are to be exorcized and baptized. And

Vincentius Bishop of Thibarais, <sup>3</sup> We know Hereticks to be worse than Heathens. If therefore they would turn and come to the Lord, we have a Rule of Truth, which the Lord commanded the Apostles, saying,

Go in my Name, lay  
on Hands, and cast  
out Devils, ( Mark.  
16. 17. ) And in an-  
other place, Go and  
teach all Nations, bap-  
tizing them in the  
Name of the Father,  
of the Son, and of the  
Holy Ghost ( Matth.  
28. 19. ) Therefore

pellite ; & alio loco, ite,  
docete gentes, baptizan-  
tes eos in nomine Patri<sup>s</sup>  
& Filii, & Spiritus sancti;  
ergo primo per manus  
impositionem in exorcis-  
mo; secundo per Bap-  
tismi regenerationem,  
tunc possunt ad Christi  
pollicitationem venire :  
alias autem fieri censeo  
non debere. *Ibid.* p. 447.

first let them come by Imposition of Hands  
in Exorcism, and then by the Regeneration of  
Baptism, that so they may be made Partakers  
of Christ's Promises ; but otherwise I think  
they cannot.

From this last Determination we may  
observe the Reason of these Exorcisms,  
which arose from a misunderstanding of  
Christ's Valedictory Speech to his Dis-  
ciples in *Mark*, 16. 17, &c. In the 16th Verse  
of that Chapter he commanded them to  
go forth preaching the Gospel, and to  
Baptize, which was to be an unalterable,  
perpetual Ministration to the end of the  
World. Then he proceeds to tell them,  
v. 17, 18. that for the speedier propa-  
gation of the Gospel, and that the Hea-  
thens might the more readily embrace it,  
he would confer on them, and the first  
Preachers



Preachers thereof, the Gift of working Miracles, that in his Name they should cast out Devils, and speak with new Tongues, as they most eminently did at the day of Pentecost; That they should take up Serpents, as *Paul* did at *Malta* without receiving any Injury; and if they drank any deadly thing, it should not hurt them; They should lay Hands on the Sick, and they should recover: All which they did, as Ecclesiastical Histories abundantly testifie; and *St. Mark* closes this Chapter, and his Gospel, with saying, that when the Apostles went forth and Preached, *the Lord wrought with them, and confirmed the Word with Signs following.* So that these were extraordinary Actions peculiarly promised to the Apostles and first Preachers of the Faith of Christ.

But now it is evident from the fore-mentioned Determination of *Vincentius* Bishop of *Thibaris*, that in his Age they apprehended them to be like Baptism, ordinary and standing Administrations in the Church, and so mistaking in the Sense of the fore-cited Text, introduced for an ordinary and constant Practice, that which was promised by Christ for an ex-  
traor-

traordinary and miraculous Gift. Christ promised his Apostles the miraculous Power of casting Devils out of Bodies Possessed by them : But these Fathers understood this Promise of the common Spiritual Effects of the Gospel, which, where it is believably received, delivers that Person from the Delusion and Dominion of the Devil, under which we all naturally are, being by Nature Children of Wrath ; and for the Declaration of this invisible Freedom and Deliverance, which they all thought to be in or about Baptism, they made use of this external Sign of Exorcism just before Baptism, to declare thereby, that now the unclean Devil with all his Power and Tyranny was cast out of that Person, who was now going in and by Baptism, to be consecrated to the Service of a better Master, viz. of the Blessed Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, God blessed for evermore.

§ 3. When Exorcization was finished, then came Baptism its self ; and the Person being ready to be baptized, the Minister by Prayer consecrated the Water for that use, because it was not any Water,

<sup>1</sup> Aqua Sacerdotis prece & Ecclesia sanctificata abluit delicta. *Act. Concil. Carthag. apud Cyprian. p. 446.*

ers of the Minister,  
It is true indeed,

<sup>2</sup> Omnes Aquæ de pristina Origenis Prærogativa Sacramentum sanctificationis consequuntur invocato Deo, supervenit enim statim Spiritus de Cœlis & aquis superest sanctificans eas. *Eccl. De Baptism. p. 598.*

<sup>3</sup> Oportet ergo mundari & sanctificari aquam prius a Sacerdote ut possit Baptismo suo peccata hominis qui baptizatur abluere. *Epist. 70. § 2. p. 211.*

tized.

§ 4. The Water being Consecrated, the Person was then baptized in the Name of the Father, of the Son, and of the

Water, but only

<sup>1</sup> that Water, as *Secundus* Bishop of *Turbo* writes, which is sanctified in the Church by the Prayer

that washeth away sin, as *Tertullian* writes,

<sup>2</sup> That any Waters may be employed to that use, but then God must be first Invoked, and then the Holy Ghost presently comes down from Heaven, moves upon them, and sanctifies them. Wherefore, saith *Cyprian*, <sup>1</sup> The Water must be first cleansed and sanctified by the Priest, that by its washing it may wash away the Sins of Man that is bap-



the Holy Ghost. So writes *Justin Martyr*,

They are baptized  
in the Name of God  
the Father, Lord of  
all, and of our Savi-  
our Jesus Christ, and  
of the Holy Ghost.

For as *Clemens A-*  
*Alexandrinus* says,<sup>2</sup>The  
baptized Person by  
this Dedication to the  
blessed Trinity, is de-  
livered from the cor-  
rupt Trinity, viz. The  
Devil, the World,  
and the Flesh, and is now Sealed by the Fa-  
ther, Son and Holy Ghost. This bapti-  
zing in the Name of the Trinity, *Origen*  
terms, <sup>3</sup> The Invo-  
cation of the Adora-  
ble Trinity.

<sup>1</sup> Ἐπ' ὀνόματι τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ὁρίσας, τὸ ἐν τῷ ὕδατι τότε λατρεῖν ποιῆσαι. Apolog. 2. p. 94.

<sup>2</sup> Διὰ τειῶν ὀνομά-  
των πάσης τῆς ἐν ὁδοῦ  
ἐστὶν τειάδ τοῦ ἀπαιλάγῃ  
—διὰ πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ  
ἁγίου πνεύματος σφρα-  
γισθεὶς. Theod. Epitom.  
p. 573.

<sup>3</sup> Τῆς προσκυνητῆς  
τειάδος ὁπικλησις.  
Comment. in Johan.

Vol. 2. Tom. 8. p. 124.

§ 5. As for the Quantity of Water  
employed in Baptism, that is, whether  
they sprinkled or dipped; to me it seems  
evident, that their usual Custom was to  
immerse or dip the whole Body. Whence  
*St. Barnabas* describes a baptized Person  
by

<sup>1</sup> Ἡμεῖς μὲν καταβαίνομεν εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ ῥέοντες ἁμαρτιῶν καὶ ῥύπτει, καὶ ἀναβαίνομεν καρποφοροῦντες ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ. Epist. Cathol. § 9. p. 235.

<sup>2</sup> Aquam ingressi. De Spectaculis, p. 583.

<sup>3</sup> In aqua demissus. De Baptismo p. 597.

<sup>4</sup> Ἐν τῷ ὕδατι λεγόν τοιῶναι. Apolog. 2. p. 94.

<sup>5</sup> Ibidem ut supra.

whence *Firmilian* inveighing against the Baptism of Hereticks, condemns it as carnal, and as being upon that account no

<sup>6</sup> Nihil differt à Judæorum Baptismo, quo sic illi utuntur, & eo tanquam communi & vulgari lavacro tantum sordes laventur. Apud Cyprian. Ep. 75. § 11. p. 239.

by his going down into the Water, <sup>1</sup> We go down, faith he, into the Water full of Sin and Filth, but we ascend with Fruit and Benefit in our Hearts. And so *Tertullian* represents baptized Persons, as, <sup>2</sup> entered into the Water. And as <sup>3</sup> let down into the Water. And *Justin Martyr* describes the same <sup>5</sup> by being washed in Water; and calls the place where they are baptized λεγόν, <sup>5</sup> a washing-place, or, a Bath; whence *Firmilian* inveighing against the Baptism of Hereticks, condemns it as carnal, and as being upon that account no whit <sup>6</sup> different from the Baptism or washing of the Jews, which they used as a common and ordinary Bath to wash away the Filth of their Bodies. § 6. But

§ 6. But though Immersion was their usual Custom, yet Perfusion or Sprinkling was not accounted unlawful; but in cases of necessity that was used, as in Clinic Baptism, which was, when sick persons, whose Deaths they apprehended, were baptized in their Beds, as Novatian<sup>1</sup> being sick, and near Death, as was supposed, was baptized in his Bed by Perfusion, or, Pouring of Water.

<sup>1</sup> Νόσω πεπρωτὸν χαλεπῇ, καὶ ὑποθανεῖν οὖρον ἐδέπω νομιζόμενος, ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ κλίνῃ ἣ ἔκειτο πεχυθεὶς ἔλαβεν.  
Epist. Cornel. ad Fabium Antioch. apud Euseb.

lib. 6. cap. 43. p. 244.

It is true indeed, this Baptism was not generally esteemed as perfect, as the more solemn Baptism; for which Reason it was a Custom in some Churches, not to advance any to Clerical Orders, who had been so baptized; an Instance whereof we have in the Church of Rome, where the Ordination of Novatian to be a Presbyter, was<sup>1</sup> opposed by all the Clergy, and by many of the Laity, as unlawful,

<sup>2</sup> Διακλυόμενος ὑπὸ πάντῃ τῇ κλήρῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ λαϊκῶν πολλῶν, ἐπεὶ μὴ ἴζον ὡς τὸ ὅτι

αὐτοὺς διὰ νόσον πεχυθέντα εἰς κλῆρον πνῶν γε-  
σθαι. Ex Epist. Cornel. ad Fabium Antioch. apud Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 43. p. 245.

G

because



*because of his Clinic Perfusion.* But yet that they held it not altogether, or absolutely unlawful to be done, appears from that on the Intreaties of the Bishop, they consented that he should be ordained, & he accordingly was: And *Cyprian* in his famous Discourse on this Subject, declares, that he thought this Baptism to be as perfect and valid, as that done more solemnly by Immersion; for when one *Magnus* wrote to him, desiring his Opinion, whether those were truly baptized, who through their Infirmities were not dipt, but only perfused or aspers'd, he answer'd:

Nos quantum concipit mediocritas nostra, æstimamus in nullo mutilari & debilitari posse divina beneficia, nec minus aliquid illic posse contingere, ubi plena & tota fide & dantis & fumentis accipitur, quod de divinis muneribus hauritur. Neque enim sic in Sacramento Salutari de-

That as far as we could conceive, we apprehended that the Divine Benefits could in no wise be mutilated, or weakened, nor that less thereof could be bestowed, where the Divine Gifts are received with a sincere and full Faith both of Giver and Receiver: For in Baptism the Spots of Sin are otherwise washed

eorum contagia,  
 in lavacro car-  
 ali & seculari for-  
 es cutis & corpo-  
 is abluuntur, ut a-  
 chronitris, & cæte-  
 is quoque adjumen-  
 fedis, & Solio & Pesci-  
 yba opus sit, quibus  
 vni blui & mundari  
 the corpusculum possit.  
 ighliter pectus cre-  
 orientis abluatur, ali-  
 er mens hominis  
 er fidei merita  
 as fundatur. In Sacra-  
 mentis salutaribus  
 e necessitate cogen-  
 cou, & Deo indulgen-  
 tiam suam largien-  
 , totum credenti-  
 couis conferunt Divi-  
 re the compendia. Nec  
 re remquam movere  
 sonnet, quod aspergi  
 bolus perfundi vide-  
 ! Ratur ægri, cum gra-  
 Bapam dominicam  
 of Sequuntur, quan-  
 vastas Scriptura sancta

away, than the filth  
 of the Body in a  
 Secular and Carnal  
 Bath is, in which  
 there is need of a Seat  
 to sit upon, of a Vat  
 to wash in, of Sope,  
 and other such like  
 Implements, that so  
 the Body may be wash-  
 ed and cleansed; but  
 in another manner  
 is the Heart of a  
 Believer washed, o-  
 therwise is the Mind  
 of a Man purified by  
 the Merits of Christ.  
 In the Sacraments of  
 Salvation through the  
 Indulgence of God in  
 Cases of Necessity,  
 the Divine Abridg-  
 ments convey the whole  
 to those that believe;  
 Nor let any one think  
 it strange, that the  
 Sick, when they are  
 baptized, are only per-  
 fused or sprinkled,  
 since the Scripture  
 G 2 says,

per Ezechielem Prophetam loquatur & dicat, & aspergam super vos aquam mundam, & munda-  
bimini ab omnibus immunditiis vestris, & ab omnibus simulachris vestris emundabo vos, & dabo vobis cor novum, & Spiritum novum dabo in vobis. Item in Numeris, & homo qui fuerit immundus usque ad vesperam, hic purificabitur die tertio, & die septimo & mundus erit; si autem non fuerit purificatus die tertio, & die septimo, non erit mundus, & exterminabitur anima illa de Israel, quoniam aqua asperſionis non est super eum sparsa. Et iterum, & locutus est Dominus ad

says by the Prophet Ezechiel, Chap. v. 25; 26. I sprinkle clean water upon you, and ye shall be clean; from your Filthinesses, from all your Iniquities, will I cleanse you. I will give you a new Heart, & will I give you a new Spirit, which I will put within you. As it is said in Numbers, chap. 19. 19. And the Man who shall be unclean to the Evening, he shall be purified the third day, and the seventh day, and he shall be clean; but if he shall not be purified the third day, and the seventh day, he shall not be clean, and that Soul shall be cut off from Israel, because the Water of Asperſion hath not been sprinkled on him.



oyfen, dicens, ac-  
 ce Levitas de me-  
 Filiorum Israel,  
 purificabis eos, &  
 facies eis purifi-  
 cationem eorum,  
 cumsparges eos  
 aqua purificationis;  
 iterum, aqua as-  
 persionis purificatio  
 . Unde apparet  
 persionem quoque  
 uæ instar salutaris  
 vacri obtinere; &  
 ando hæc in eccle-  
 fiunt, ubi sit &  
 ntis & accipientis  
 es integra, stare  
 onia & consum-  
 ari ac perfici posse  
 ajestate Domini &  
 dei veritate. Epist.  
 5. § 9. p. 249, 250.

*again the Lord spake  
 unto Moses; Numb.  
 8. v. 6, 7. Take the  
 Levites from among  
 the Children of Isra-  
 el, and cleanse them;  
 and thus shalt thou do  
 unto them to cleanse  
 them, sprinkle Water  
 of Purifying upon  
 them. And again,  
 the Water of Aspersi-  
 on is Purification:  
 From whence it ap-  
 pears, that sprinkling  
 is sufficient instead of  
 Immersion; and when-  
 soever it is done, if  
 there be a sound Faith  
 of Giver and Recei-  
 ver it is perfect and  
 compleat.*

And a little after in the same Epistle,  
 the said Father argues the Validity of  
 baptizing by Sprinkling, because such as  
 had been so baptized, were never bap-  
 tized again.

Aut si aliquis existimat eos nihil consecutos, eo quod aqua salutari tantum perfusi sunt, sed inanes & vacuos esse; non decipiantur, & si incommodum languoris evaserint & convalescerint, baptizentur. Si autem baptizari non possunt, qui jam baptismo Ecclesiastico sanctificati sunt, cur in fide sua & Domini indulgentia scandalizantur? *Idem Ibid.*  
§ 10. p. 250.

If, saith he, shall think that have not obtained Grace of God, are void and empty thereof, because they have been only Perfused with the Saving Laver; Let not they then that have been so baptized, deceive themselves; but they recover their Health, let them be baptized; but if they cannot be baptized as having been already Sanctified with Ecclesiastical Baptism, why then do they scandalize their Faith, and in the Mercy of God?

So that Sprinkling or Perfusion was esteemed valid, and seems to be always used in Cases of Necessity, as Immersion was in their ordinary Publick Baptism when

when, as *Tertullian* writes, <sup>1</sup> they dipped the Baptized Person three times under Wa-

<sup>1</sup> Ter mergitmur. *De Coron. Milit.* p. 336.

ter, that is, dipping him once at the naming of each Person of the Holy Tri-

nity. <sup>2</sup> We are, says the foresaid Father, dipped at the naming of each Person.

<sup>2</sup> Nec semel, sed ter, ad singula nomina in personas singulas tingimur. *Advers. Prax.* p. 229.

§ 7. When Baptism was over, the Person that had been then baptized, as

*Justin Martyr* re-

lates it, <sup>3</sup> was re-

ceived into the num-

ber of the Faithful,

who then sent up their

Publick Prayers to

God for all Men, for

themselves, and for

him that had been

baptized. After which

the Baptized Person, as the said Father

goes on to write, was admitted to re-

ceive the other Sacrament of the Lord's

Supper with the Rest of the Faithful. So

that in *Justin Martyr's* Age, at least in his

Country at that Season, it seems very

<sup>3</sup> Ἡμεῖς ὃ μὲν τὸ ἔργον  
λῦσαι ἢ πεπεισμένον καὶ  
συγγαλατὲς δέεικτον ὅτι  
τὰς λεγομένους ἀδελφούς  
ἄρχομεν ἐν ταῖς σινηγυμίοις  
εἰσι, κοινὰς εὐχὰς ποιη-  
σόμενοι ὑπὲρ τῶν ἑαυτῶν  
καὶ τῶν φωτισθέντων καὶ  
ἄλλων πανταχῶς πάντων  
εὐτόνως. *Apolog.* 2. p. 97.

G 4 probable



probable that there followed only Prayer after Baptism: But not long after that time, we meet with many other Ceremonies then used, which because they have some Relation to our present Controversies, I shall mention in the following Chapter.

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## CHAP. V.

§ 1. *After Baptism followed Chrismation, or Unction. § 2. Then Signation, or Signing with the Sign of the Cross. § 3. Then Imposition of Hands, or Confirmation. § 4. Their Reasons for Unction. § 5. For Signation. § 6. For Imposition of Hands. § 7. Confirmation immediately followed Baptism. § 8. Presbyters confirmed as well as Bishops. § 9. Confirmation reiterated.*

§ 1. **A**S for those Rites that succeeded Baptism, and which we find first mentioned in *Tertullian*, they were in number three, viz. *Unction, Signation, and Imposition of Hands*; or if the Reader pleases, he may call them all by the Name of Confirmation.

Touching Unction or Chrismation, *Tertullian* thus writes,

AP. *As soon as we are baptized, we are anointed with the blessed Unction—An external carnal Unction is*

<sup>1</sup> *Egressi de lavacro perungimur benedicta Unctione—in nobis carnaliter currit unctio, sed spiritualiter proficit. De Baptism. p. 599, 600.*

*poured*

*poured upon us, but it spiritually advantages*  
 And to the same purpose. says his Follower

<sup>1</sup> Ungi quoque necesse est eum, baptizatus sit, ut accepto Chrismate, id est, Unctione, esse Unctus Dei, & habere in se gratiam Christi possit. *Epist.* 70. § 3. p. 211.

*Cyprian, <sup>1</sup> He that is baptized must of necessity be anointed that having received the Chrism or Unction, he may be the Anointed of God, and have him in the Grace*

*of Christ.*

§ 2. Under this Chrismation was comprehended Signation, or the Signing of the Baptized Person with the Sign of the Cross, which the Minister performed with this Oyntment or Chrism. So saith

<sup>2</sup> Caro ungitur, ut anima consecratur, caro signatur, ut & anima muniatur. *De Resurrect. Carnis.* p. 31.

*Tertullian, <sup>2</sup> The Flesh is anointed, that the Soul may be consecrated. And then it follows, The Flesh is Signed, that the Soul*

*may be fortified.* This Sign was made in the Forehead, as *Cyprian* observes, that King *Uzzias* for invading the Priests

<sup>3</sup> Lepre varietate in fronte maculatus est, ea parte corporis notatus offenso Domino, ubi sig-

*Office, <sup>2</sup> was smitten with a Leprosie on his Forehead, and marked by an offended God*



on that place where those are mark'd whom God Receives. Hence

he calls a Christians Forehead, <sup>1</sup> *A Signed Forehead*; and

thus elegantly exhorts the People of *Thibaris* in Allusion hereunto, to take unto themselves the whole Armour of God, mentioned *Ephes.*

6. 12. <sup>2</sup> *To take unto themselves for a Covering for their Head the Helmet of Salvation, that their Ears might be fortified against their Persecutors Edicts, that their Eyes might be strengthened against*

*the beholding of detestable Images, that their Forehead might be Fortified, that so the Sign of God might be kept inviolable. So Pontius speaks of certain Confessors, who by the Cruelty of their Tormentors* <sup>3</sup> *had their Foreheads marked a Second Time.*

*nantur qui Dominum promerentur. De Unit. Eccles. § 16. p. 301.*

<sup>1</sup> *Frons cum Signo. De Lapsis, § 1. p. 277.*

<sup>2</sup> *Accipiamus quoque ad tegumentum capitis Galeam salutarem, ut muniantur aures, ne audiant edicta feralia; muniantur oculi ne videant detestanda simulachra: muniantur frons ut signum Dei incolume servetur. Epist. 56. § 7. p. 156.*

<sup>3</sup> *Confessores frontium notatarum secunda inscriptione signatos. In Vita Cypriani.*

It

It is observed by *Tertullian*, that the Devil strives to be God's Ape, imitating the Acts of his Worship and Service, and prescribing the same to his Deluded Adorers, as particularly in the Idolatrous

Services of *Mithras*,

<sup>1</sup> Tingit & iple quosdam, utique credentes & fideles suos: expiationem delictorum de lavacro repromittit; & sic initiat *Mithræ*, signat illi in frontibus milites suos. *De Præscript. advers. Heret. p. 87.*

<sup>1</sup> whose Priests baptized some as his Believing and faithful Servants, and Sign'd them in their Foreheads as his Soldiers.

§ 3. To Signation succeeded Imposition of Hands, or that which most properly we term Confirmation, which was, the Minister laid his Hands on the Head of the Party Baptized, Anointed and Signed, and prayed that the Holy Ghost would be pleased to descend, and rest upon him: This immediately followed Signation, as that did Unction. So saith

<sup>2</sup> Caro ungitur, ut anima consecratur; caro signatur, ut & anima muniatur; caro manus impositione adumbratur, ut & anima spiritu illuminetur. *De Resurrect. Carnis. p. 31.*

*Tertullian*,<sup>2</sup> The Flesh is anointed that the Soul may be consecrated; the Flesh is Signed, that the Soul may be fortified. The Flesh is overshadowed with

the Imposition of Hands, that the Soul may be enlightned by the Spirit. And <sup>1</sup> when the Unction is finished, then Hands are imposed, with Prayers invoking and inviting the Holy Spirit.

<sup>2</sup> Dehinc manus imponitur, per benedictionem advocans & invitans Spiritum sanctum. De Baptism. p. 600.

§ 4. Having thus briefly shewn what their Additional Acts to Baptism were, it will in the next place be necessary to enquire into the Grounds or Reasons of their usage of them; and first for Unction: This was taken from the Jewish Rites, where it was employed in the Instalment of the High Priest, to denote his Episcopal Consecration to the Service of God, as Tertullian writes,

<sup>2</sup> This Unction is according to the Jewish Dispensation, wherein the High Priest was anointed with Oyl out of an Horn, as Aaron was by Moses. of the Gospel, all Tertullian says, <sup>3</sup> Priests to God and the Father. They were

<sup>2</sup> De pristina Disciplina, quâ ungi oleo de cornu in Sacerdotio solebant, ex quo Aaron & Moyse unctus est. De Baptism. p. 600.

So now in the times Christians being, as

<sup>3</sup> Nonne & Laici Sacerdotes sumus? Scriptum est, Regnum quoque



108 The Worship, Ceremonies, &c.

nos & Sacerdotes Deo & Patri suo fecit. *Exhort. ad Castitat. p. 457.*

ing of Oyl to their

<sup>1</sup> Caro ungitur, ut anima consecretur. *De Resurrect. Carnis, p. 31.*

*secrated.*

From the Spiritual Unction also of God the Son, by God the Father, for which reason he was called *Christ*, or, *Anointed*, they pleaded for their carnal and external Unction, as *Tertul-*

<sup>2</sup> Christus dicitur à Chrismate quod est unctio, quæ Domino nomen accomodavit, facta Spiritualis, quia Spiritus unctus est à Deo patre, sicut in Actis: Collecti sunt enimvero in ista civitate adversus sanctum filium tuum quem unxisti: Sic & in nobis carnaliter currit unctio, sed spiritualiter proficit. *De Bapt. p. 600.*

*Unction is Carnal, though it spiritually profits.*

in resemblance thereunto consecrated by the anointing of the forefaid Father expresses it, <sup>1</sup> *The Flesh is anointed, that the Soul may be con-*

*lian* faith, <sup>2</sup> *Jesus is called Christ from being anointed, which Unction was Spiritual, because whilst only a Spirit, he was anointed by the Father, as in the Acts. They are gathered together in this City against thy Holy Son, whom thou hast anointed; but our*

Cyprian adds this farther Reason for this Custom of Anointing, viz. <sup>1</sup> He that is baptized, must of necessity receive the Chrism, or Unction, that so he may be the Anointed of God, and have in him the Grace of Christ.

<sup>1</sup> Ungi quoque necesse est eum, qui baptizatus sit, ut accepto Chrismate, id est, Unctione, esse unctus Dei, & habere in se gratiam Christi possit. Epist. 70. § 3. p. 211.

§ 5. As for Signation, or the Signing with the Sign of the Cross: By this was denoted, That they were to be strong and valiant in the Cause of Christ, having their Hearts fortified and strengthened, as Tertullian observes,

<sup>2</sup> The Flesh is Sign'd, that the Soul may be fortified. Hence this

<sup>2</sup> Caro signatur, ut anima muniatur. De Resurrect. Carnis. p. 31.

Sign was made on an open, visible place, on their Foreheads, which is the Seat of Courage and Confidence, implying thereby, that they ought courageously and constantly to fight like good Soldiers under the Cross of Christ; whence Tertullian says, that as the Christians, so the Priests of Mithras

<sup>3</sup> Sign'd the Foreheads of their Soldiers.

<sup>3</sup> Signat illic in frontibus milites suos. De præscript. adv. Heret. p. 87.

§ 6. As

§ 6. As for the very Act of Confirmation, or Imposition of Hands, that was practised from an Opinion of the Imperfection of Baptism, that that did not convey the Graces of the Holy Spirit, but only prepared Persons for the reception of them, when they should be actually bestowed in the Confirmation; for as Tertullian says, <sup>1</sup> We do not receive the Holy Ghost in Baptism, but being purified therein by the Angel, (alluding to the Angel that mov'd upon the Pool at Bethsaida) we are prepared for the Holy Ghost. And,

<sup>1</sup> Non quod in aquis Spiritum Sanctum consequamur, sed in aqua emundati sub Angelo Spiritu sancto præparamur. *De Baptism.* p. 599.

<sup>2</sup> Tunc ille sanctissimus Spiritus super emundata & benedicta corpora libens à patre descendit. *Ibid.* p. 600.

<sup>3</sup> Caro manus impositione adumbratur, ut & anima spiritu illuminetur. *De Resurrect. Carnis,* p. 31.

<sup>2</sup> When our Bodies are cleansed and blessed, then that most Holy Spirit willingly descends from the Father. And <sup>3</sup> at the Imposition of Hands, the Soul is illuminated by the Spirit.



Cyprian in his 74<sup>th</sup> Epistle, § 6, 7, 8. discourses somewhat largely of this Custom of Confirmation; from whence I have observed this following Account of it. <sup>1</sup> Every one

is in a state of Heathenism and Idolatry, as considered as a Pagan; wherefore when any one came from that state to the Christian Faith, he was said to live; which Life may be compared to a natural Life: As to complete a Natural Life,

there must be a Body and a Soul, so must the same be imagin'd in a Spiritual Life: As in the First Creation, God first formed the Body of Man, and then breathed into him the Breath of Life; first made a fit Subject to receive the Soul, before the Soul itself was framed: So in the second Creation, God first prepares the Man, before he gives his Spirit; he first makes the Man a fit Temple for the Holy Ghost, before he gives the Holy Ghost. Now the way by which a Man is prepared and fitted, is by Baptism, by which he is cleansed and purged from Sin,

H

and

<sup>3</sup> Non per manus impositionem quis nascitur, quando accipit Spiritum Sanctum, sed in baptismo, ut Spiritum jam natus accipiat, sicut in primo homine Adam factum est. Ante enim Deus etiam plasmavit, & tunc insufflavit in faciem ejus flatum vitæ, nec enim potest accipi Spiritus, nisi prius fuerit qui accipiat. § 8. p. 230.

and fitted for the Reception of the Spirit of God, in which respect he is to be regarded as a Body: The way by which the Holy Ghost is infused, which as a living Soul must actuate and direct that prepared Body, is by Prayer and Imposition of Hands, or by Confirmation. For as Cyprian writes in the same place,

<sup>1</sup> Peccata enim purgare, & hominem sanctificare aqua sola non potest, nisi habeat & Spiritum sanctum, § 7. p. 230.

<sup>1</sup> Baptism alone cannot purge away sins, & sanctify a Man, unless he has also the Holy Ghost. That is, he must receive Confirmation, as it is frequently

style'd in Cyprian's Epistles. In the Decrees of the Council of Carthage, and in the Letter of Cornelius to Fabian Bishop of Antioch, extant in Eusebius Lib. 6. cap. 43. p. 244. This being the Regeneration of the Spirit, and Baptism the Regeneration of Water, both which our Saviour affirmed to be necessary, when he said unto Nicodemus, John 3. 5. Except a Man be born of Water, and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of God. And Nemeseianus Bishop of Thubunis saith, one is not sufficient without the other.

<sup>1</sup> Neque enim Spiritus sine aqua operari potest, neque aqua sine Spi-

<sup>2</sup> the Spirit cannot operate without Water, nor the Water without

without

about the Spirit.  
Therefore it was  
necessary to be re-  
generated by both Sa-  
craments, viz. By

Baptism and by Confirmation. Where-  
fore, as Cyprian exhorts, we must pray,

that those who are

Earthly, may be-

come Heavenly, and

born of the Water

and the Spirit. That

be Baptized and

confirmed, which

are the external Signs of Cleansing from

sin, and bestowing Grace, both being neces-

sary to make a compleat Christian; for as the

Father writes,

Then are men truly

sanctified, and fully

become the Sons of

God, when they are

generated with both

sacraments, Baptism

and Confirmation; ac-

cording as it is writ-

ten, Except a Man be

born of Water and of the Spirit, he cannot

enter into the Kingdom of God. So that

though a Person was baptized, yet they

ritu— utroque Sacra-  
mento debere eos renas-  
ci in Ecclesia Catholica.  
*Act. Concil. Carthag. apud  
Cyprian. p. 444.*

<sup>2</sup> Ut qui adhuc sunt  
prima nativitate terreni,  
incipiant esse cœlestes, ex  
Aqua & Spiritu nati. *De  
Orat. Dominic. § 12. p.  
213.*

<sup>2</sup> Tunc enim demum  
plene sanctificari, & esse  
filii Dei possunt, si Sacra-  
mento utroque nascantur,  
cum scriptum sit, nisi  
quis natus fuerit ex A-  
qua & Spiritu, non po-  
test introire in regnum  
Dei. *Epist. 62. § 1. p.  
216.*



accounted his Christianity incomplete and imperfect till he was also confirmed. For which reason *Cornelius* objects against

*Novatian*, that

<sup>1</sup> Νόσῳ θεωπεσὼν χα-  
λεπῇ — ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ κλί-  
νῃ ἢ ἐκεῖ οὐ θεωχρθεὶς ἐ-  
λαβεν, εἰ γε χρὴ λέγειν  
τὸ ποιῆτον εἰληφέναι, ἔ-  
μω ἐδὲ τῷ λοιπῷ ἐ-  
τοχε, διαφυγὼν τὴν νό-  
σον, ὣν χρὴ μεταλαμ-  
βάνειν καὶ τὴν ἐκκλη-  
σίας κανόνα, τὸ τε σερα-  
μαζωῶν ὑπὸ τῷ ἐπισκό-  
πῳ. Epist. ad Fab. An-  
tioch. apud Euseb. lib. 6.  
cap. 43. p. 244.

<sup>1</sup> could scarcely  
knowledge him a com-  
plete Christian, be-  
cause being baptiz-  
ed in his Bed, he had  
received Confirmation,  
or the Additions  
Rituals to Baptism,  
nor did he ever after  
receive them.

Thus you see the Reasons they pro-  
duced for this Usage, to fortifie which  
they added some Examples of the Holy  
Writ, as *Tertullian* cites to this pur-

<sup>2</sup> Est hoc quoque de  
veteri instrumento quo  
nepotes suos ex Joseph  
Efrem & Manasse, Ja-  
cob capitibus impositis  
& intermutatis manibus  
benedixit. De Baptism.  
p. 600.

pose the Example  
<sup>2</sup> of Jacob in Gene-  
sis, who put his  
Hands on the Heads  
of Ephraim  
Manasses and blessed  
them. And *Cyprian*  
urges that Instance

of the Apostles, Acts 8. 15, 17. where  
after several of the Samaritans had been  
baptized

prized by Philip, Peter and James conferred the Holy Ghost on them by Imposition of Hands, They had no need again to be Baptized, and he, having been baptized by Philip, only what was wanting or lacking was performed by Peter and John, which is, that by Prayer, and Imposition of Hands the Holy Ghost should be conferred on them, which Custom, he there adds, is now observed by us, that those who are baptized in the Church, are offered to the Governors there-

by whose Prayer and Imposition of Hands they receive the Holy Ghost, and are commended with the Lords Seal. To this practice also Firmilian refers that Action of St. Paul, in Acts 19.

Where on those who had been only baptized by John's

<sup>1</sup> Quia legitimum & ecclesiasticum baptismum consecuti fuerant, baptizari eos ultra non oportebat: Sed tantummodo quod deerat id a Petro & Johanne factum est, ut oratione pro eis habita, & manu imposita, invocaretur & infunderetur super eos Spiritus sanctus. Quod nunc quoque apud nos geritur, ut qui in Ecclesia baptizantur, præpositis Ecclesiæ offerantur, & per nostram orationem ac manus impositionem Spiritum Sanctum consequantur, & signaculo dominico consummentur. Epist. 73. § 8. p. 220.

<sup>2</sup> Eos qui ab Johanne baptizati fuerint, priusquam missus esset à Domino Spiritus Sanctus

H 3

Baptism,

baptizavit denuo Spiritu-  
ali baptismo, & sic eis  
manum imposuit, ut ac-  
ciperent Spiritum san-  
ctum. *Apud Cyprian. E-  
pist. 75. § 7. p. 237.*

<sup>1</sup> Invenimus hoc esse  
ab Apostolis custoditum,  
ut in domo Cornelii Cen-  
turionis super Ethnicos  
qui illic aderant, Fidei  
calore ferventes, descen-  
disset Spiritus Sanctus, &c.  
*Epist. 75. § 1. p. 216.*

So much now for the Reasons of Con-  
firmation; all that I shall do more  
to add two or three Observations con-  
cerning it.

§ 7. The first whereof is, That Con-  
firmation was an immediate Consequence  
of Baptism; it was not deferred till ma-  
ny years after, but was presently admi-

<sup>2</sup> Egressi de lavacro  
perungimur benedicta  
Unctione— dehinc ma-  
nus imponitur. *De Bap-  
tism. p. 599. p. 600.*

ed. Else if they had not been so soon  
confirmed, they must, notwithstanding

Baptism, he conferred  
the Holy Ghost  
Imposition of Hands  
And Cyprian appo-  
inted to Confirmation  
Descent of the Holy  
Ghost, *Acts*  
44. <sup>1</sup> in miracles  
Operations and Gifts  
of Tongues on Cor-  
nelius and his Friends  
though they were  
then Baptized.

nistrated, as Tertullian  
writes, <sup>2</sup> As soon  
we come out of the  
Baptismal Laver,  
are anointed,  
then we are confirmed



their Baptism, according to their Opinions, as it hath been before demonstrated, have continued graceless, without the Adorning Gifts of the Holy Spirit, a long time, even as long as their Confirmation was delayed, which to imagin concerning them is unreasonable and uncharitable.

Indeed in case of Necessity, when they had neither time nor conveniency it was Craved, as Immersion was with respect to Baptism; but yet if the sick Person happened to recover, he was then to be confirmed, as is evident from the Case of Novatian, whom Cornelius accuses, because <sup>1</sup> that when he

was restored to his health again he was not confirmed according to the Canon of the Church. But otherwise Confirmation immediately,

or at the same time followed Baptism.

§ 8. From the former Observation there follows this, that not only the Bishop, but also his Presbyters or Curates did by his Permission, and in his Absence confirm: For if Confirmation always succeeded Baptism, then whenever Bap-

<sup>1</sup> Οὐ μὲν ἐδὲ τῶν λοιπῶν ἔτυχεν, διαφυγὼν τὴν νόσον, ὧν χρόνι μέλαλαμβάνειν καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας κανόνα, τὸ τε σφραγισθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ ὁπισκοπέου. *Apud Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 43. p. 244.*

tism was, there was also Confirmation. Now as for Baptism, we may reasonably suppose, that in a Church there were some fit to be baptized at least once a year; and sometimes it might happen that either the See was vacant, or the Bishop through Persecution might be absent from his Flock so long a time, as *Cyprian* was double the space; and if so must no Persons have been Baptized with in that time by reason of the Bishop's unavoidable Absence? That seems a little hard, since, as was said before, they esteemed Baptism and Confirmation necessary to Salvation, and to deprive those Souls of Salvation, that died within that time, because they had not been confirmed by the Bishop, which was impossible, would be too severe and uncharitable.

Besides, that Presbyters did Baptize, we have proved already; and since Confirmation was done at the same time with Baptism, it is very reasonable to conclude, that he that did the one, performed the other also.

But, that Presbyters did confirm, will appear most evidently from this very Consideration, *viz.* that the Imposition of Hands on Persons just after Baptism, which we call

Confir-

Confirmation, and the Imposition of Hands  
at the Restitution of Offenders, which we  
call Absolution, was one and the self  
same thing, Confirmation and Absoluti-  
on being only terms that we make use  
of, to distinguish the different times of  
the Performances of the same Thing or  
Ceremony. The Thing or Ceremony  
was not different, Imposition of Hands  
was used both at the one and the other,  
denoting the same Mystical Signification,  
*viz.* The Conferring of the Holy Ghost  
and his Graces on that Person on whom  
Hands were imposed: Only now to di-  
stinguish the time of this Imposition of  
Hands, whether after Baptism, or at the  
Reconciliation of Offenders; these two  
Terms of Confirmation and Absolution  
are used by us, the former to signifie  
that used just after Baptism, and the lat-  
ter, that that was employed at the Re-  
stitution of Penitents.

This now, *viz.* That Confirmation  
and Absolution were one and the self-  
same thing, I shall presently prove: And  
then in the next place I shall shew, that  
with the Bishop, and sometimes without  
the Bishop, Presbyters did absolve by Im-  
position of Hands: And if these two  
Points can be clearly manifested, it will  
evidently



evidently follow that Presbyters did confirm ; for if there was no difference between Confirmation and Absolution , but only with respect to time ; and if Presbyters at one time , *viz.* at Absolution, conferred the Holy Ghost by Imposition of Hands, it is very unreasonable to deprive them of the same Power at the other time, which was at Confirmation. If Presbyters could at one Season bestow the Holy Spirit , it is very probable that they could do the same at the other also.

Now as to the first Point , *viz.* That there was no difference between Confirmation and Absolution , but that they were one and the self-same thing ; This will appear most evidently from the consideration of that famous Controversie , touching the Validity of Hereticks Baptism, between *Stephen* Bishop of *Rome*, and *Cyprian* Bishop of *Carthage* ; or rather between the Churches of *Europe* and *Africa*, the Sum whereof was this, *Stephen* Bishop of *Rome* asserted, That those who were baptized by Hereticks, and came over to the Catholick Church, should be received only by Imposition of Hands. *Cyprian* Bishop of *Carthage* contended, that besides Imposition of Hands, they should

should also be baptized, unless that they had been before baptiz'd by the Orthodox, in which Case Imposition of Hands should be esteemed sufficient. Now this Imposition of Hands they sometimes term that which we call Confirmation, and sometimes Absolution, promiscuously using either of those Expressions, and indifferently applying them, according as they pleased, in one place giving it the Title of Confirmation, and in another that of Absolution, which that they did, I shall endeavour to evince, by shewing;

First, That they called this Imposition of Hands Confirmation.

Secondly, That they called it Absolution.

First, I shall prove that they called it Confirmation; unto which end let us consider these following Passages,

*Those, says Cyprian, which are baptized without the Church, when they come unto us, and unto the Church which is but one, they are to*

*Eos qui sint foris extra Ecclesiam tincti-- quando ad nos, atque ad Ecclesiam quæ una est, venerint, baptizari oportere, eo quod parum sit eis manum. impone- re ad accipiendum Spiritum Sanctum, nisi accipiant & Ecclesiæ bapti- ze*

tismum. Tunc enim demum plenè sanctificari & esse Filii Dei possunt, si Sacramento utroque nascantur, cum scriptum sit, nisi quis natus fuerit ex Aqua & Spiritu non potest introire in regnum Dei. *Epist. 72. § 1. p. 216.*

with both Sacraments, according as it is written, Unless a Man be born again of the Water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of God. To the same effect says *Nemesianus* Bishop of Thubunis,

<sup>1</sup> Malè sibi quidam interpretantur, ut dicant quod per manus impositionem Spiritum sanctum accipiant, & sic recipiantur, cum manifestum sit utroque Sacramento debere eos renasci in Ecclesia Catholica. *Act. Concil. Carthag. apud Cyprian. p. 444.*

Church. And *Secundinus* Bishop of Carpis determined, that

<sup>2</sup> Super filios alienos, & Soboles Antichristi Spiritum Sanctum per manus impositionem tantummodo non posse descendere. *Act. Concil. Carthag. apud Cyprian. p. 446.*

be baptized, because the Imposition of Hands by Confirmation is not sufficient without Baptism, for then they are fully sanctified, and become the Sons of God, when they are born

<sup>1</sup> Those do greatly err, who affirm that they ought only to be confirmed by Imposition of Hands, and so to be received, since it is manifest they must be regenerated with both Sacraments in the Catholick

<sup>2</sup> on Hereticks who are the Seed of An-

richrist,



Christ, the Holy Ghost cannot be conferred by Imposition of Hands alone in Confirmation.

Stephen pleaded on his side,<sup>1</sup> *That the very Name of Christ was so advantageous to Faith and the Sanctification of Baptism, that in what place soever any one was baptized in that Name, he immediately obtained the Grace of Christ.* But unto this Firmilian briefly replies, *That if the Baptism of Hereticks, because done in the Name of Christ, was sufficient to purge away Sins, why was not Confirmation, that was performed in the Name of the same Christ, sufficient to bestow the Holy Ghost too?* And therefore it is thus eagerly argued by Cyprian,<sup>2</sup> *Why do they, saith he, (meaning Stephen and his Party, who received Hereticks by Imposition of*

<sup>1</sup> Sed in multum, inquit, proficit nomen Christi ad fidem & baptismi Sanctificationem ut quicumque & ubicumque in nomine Christi baptizatus fuerit, consequatur statim gratiam Christi, quando huic loco breviter occurri possit, & dici, quoniam si in nomine Christi valuit foris baptismus ad hominem purgandum, in ejusdem Christi nomine valere illic potuit & manus impositio ad accipiendum Spiritum Sanctum. *Apud Cyprian. Epist. 75. § 16. p. 240.*

<sup>2</sup> Qui Hæreticis sive Schismaticis patrocinantur, respondeant nobis habeantne Spiritum Sanctum, an non habeant? Si habent, cur illic baptizantur? Hands

tis, quando ad nos veniunt, manus imponitur ad accipiendum Spiritum Sanctum, cum jam utiq; illic acceptus sit, ubi si fuit, dari potuit? Si autem foris cuncti Hæretici & Schismatici non habent Spiritum Sanctum, & ideo apud nos manus imponitur, ut hic accipiat, quod illic nec est, nec dari potest: manifestum est nec remissionem peccatorum dari per eos posse, quos constat Spiritum sanctum non habere. *Epist.* 76. § 8. p. 249.

there, they could confer him? But if Hereticks and Schismaticks have not the Spirit of God, and therefore we lay Hands on them in Confirmation, that they may here receive, what Hereticks neither have, nor can give; it is manifest, that since they have not the Holy Ghost, they cannot give remission of Sins. That is, since they cannot Confirm, therefore they cannot Baptize. So that from these and

<sup>1</sup> *Cyprian. Epist.* 73. § 8. p. 220. & § 19. p. 224. *Epist.* 74. § 6, 7, 8. p. 230. *Firmilian apud Cyprian. Epist.* 75. § 7. p. 237. & § 11. p. 239.

Hands only) patronize Hereticks and Schismaticks, let them answer us, have they the Holy Ghost, or have they not? If they have, why then do they lay Hands on those that are baptized by them, when they come over to us, to bestow on them the Holy Ghost, when they had received him before; for if he was

<sup>1</sup> some other Passages, which to avoid tediousness I omit; it is clear, that both Stephen and Cyprian understood by Imposition

position of Hands, that which we now call Confirmation.

Secondly, I now come to shew, that they also termed it Absolution, as will appear from these following Instances.

<sup>1</sup> They (says Cyprian, meaning Stephen and his Followers) urge, that in what they do, they follow the old Custom, that was used by the Ancients when Heresies and Schisms first began, when those that went over to them, first were in the Church, and baptized therein, who when they returned again to the Church, and did Penance, were not forced to be

<sup>1</sup> Et dicunt se in hoc veterem consuetudinem sequi, quando apud veteres Hæreseos & Schismaticum prima adhuc fuerint initia, ut hi illic essent, qui de Ecclesia recedebant, & hic baptizati prius fuerant: quos tamen ad Ecclesiam revertentes, & pœnitentiam agentes necesse non erat baptizare, quod nos quoque hodie observamus, ut quos constat hic baptizatos esse, & à nobis ad Hæreticos transisse, si postmodum peccato suo cognito & errore digesto ad veritatem & matricem redeant, satis sit in pœnitentiam manum imponere: ut

quia ovis jam fuerat, hanc ovem abalienatam & errantem in ovile suum pastor recipiat. Si autem qui ab Hæreticis venit, baptizatus in Ecclesia prius non fuit, sed alienus in totum & profanus venit: baptizandus est, ut ovis fiat, quia una est aqua in Ecclesia sancta quæ oves faciat. *Epist. 71. § 2. p.*



baptized. But this, says he, makes nothing against us, for we now observe the very same; Those who were baptized here, and from us went over to the Hereticks, if afterwards being sensible of their Error they return to the Church, we only absolve them by the Imposition of Hands, because once they were Sheep, and as wandring and straying Sheep the Shepherd receives them into his Flock; but if those that come from Hereticks were not first baptized in the Church they are to be baptized, that they may become Sheep; for there is but one Holy Water in the Church, that makes Sheep.

But that this Imposition of Hands was the same with Absolution, will most evidently appear from the Opinion or Determination of Stephen, and from Cyprian's Answer thereunto.

Stephen's Opinion or Determination was

*Si quis ergo à quacunque Hæresi venerit ad nos, nihil innovetur, nisi quod traditum est, ut manus illi imponatur in pœnitentiam. Apud Cyprian. Epist. 74. § 1. P. 229.*

*If any shall from any Heresie come unto us, let nothing be innovated or introduced besides the old Tradition, which is that Hands be imposed on him as a Penitent.*

Now unto that part of this Decree which asserts the Reception of Hereticks

ticks only by Absolution, or the Imposition of Hands in Penance to be a Tradition, descended down from their Predecessors. Cyprian writes, <sup>1</sup> That he would observe it as a Divine and Holy Tradition, if it were either commanded in the Gospel, and the Epistles of the Apostles, contained in the Scriptures, that those who come from Hereticks should not be baptized, but only Hands imposed on them for Penance, or, as Penitents; but that for his part, <sup>2</sup> he never found it either commanded or written, that on an Heretick Hands should be only imposed for Penance, and so he should be admitted to Communion. Wherefore he on his side concludes and determines, Let it therefore be serv'd, and held by that all, who from any Heresie are converted

<sup>1</sup> Si ergo autem evangelio præcipitur, aut in Apostolorum Epistolis, aut Actibus continetur, ut à quacunque Hæresi venientes non baptizantur, sed tantum manus illis imponatur in Pœnitentiam, observetur hæc divina & sancta traditio. *Ibid.* § 2. p.229.

<sup>2</sup> Retro nusquam omnino præceptum est, neque conscriptum, ut Hæretico tantum manus in pœnitentiam imponatur, & sic ei communicetur. *Ibid.* § 4. p.229.

<sup>3</sup> Observetur itaque à nobis & tenetur — ut omnes qui ex quacunque

I                      verted

Hæresi ad Ecclesiam convertuntur, Ecclesiæ unico legitimo baptismo baptizantur, exceptis his qui baptizati in Ecclesia prius fuerant, & sic ad Hæreticos transferant, hos enim oportet, cum redeant, acta pœnitentia per manus impositionem solum recipi; & in ovile, unde erraverant, à Pastore restitui. *Ibidem* §16.p. 232.

verted to the Church, be baptized with one lawful Baptism in the Church, except those who are formerly baptized in the Church, who when they return, are received by the Imposition of Hands after Penance into the Flock, from which

*they have strayed.*

So that these Instances do as clearly prove, that they meant by their Imposition of Hands, Absolution, as the former Instances do, that they meant Confirmation, and both of them together plainly shew and evidence Confirmation and Absolution to be the very self-same thing; for since they promiscuously and indifferently applyed these Terms, and that very thing, which in some Places they express by Confirmation, in others they call Absolution, it necessarily follows, that there can be no essential or specifical difference between them, that they are of a like numerical Identity or Sameness. But,



Secondly, I now come in the next  
place to demonstrate, that together with  
the Bishop, and sometimes without the  
Bishop, Presbyters did absolve by Im-  
position of Hands. That they did it, toge-  
ther with the Bishop, several places of  
Scripture abundantly prove. *Offenders, faith*

*Receive the right*

*Communion by the*

*Imposition of Hands*

*of the Bishop, and of*

*Clergy. And, No*

*criminal can be*

*admitted to Commu-*

*nion, unless the Bish-*

*op and Clergy have*

*imposed Hands on*

*him. And that some-*

*times they did it without the Bishop (al-*

*ways understanding his leave and per-*

*mission) is apparent from the Example of*

*Timothy, who being out of the Churches*

*of the place, and approaching the hour of Dis-*

*solution, sent for*

*the Presbyters*

*to Absolve him, which*

*the Presbyter did, ac-*

*cording to the*

*Scripture.*

*Ex Epist. Alexand. apud Eu-*

*sebi. lib. 6. cap. 44. p. 246.*

<sup>1</sup> Per impositionem  
manus Episcopi & Cleri  
Jus communicationis ac-  
cipiunt. *Epist. 10. § 2. p.*  
*30.*

<sup>2</sup> Nec ad communica-  
tionem venire quis pos-  
sit, nisi prius illi & ab  
Episcopo & Clero manus  
fuit imposita. *Ep. 12. § 1.*  
*P. 37.*

<sup>3</sup> Τῶν πρεσβυτέρων  
μοι πινὰ κάλεσον — ἐν-  
τολής ἢ ὡς ἐμὲ δεδο-  
μένης, τὰς ἀπαλαττομέ-  
νους βίαι, αἱ δέοιντο, καὶ μάλιστα αἱ καὶ πρὸς  
ἐν ἐκείνοις πάντες τὴν οἰκίαν, ἀφιεῖται, ἵν' ἐλ-  
θὲς ἀπαλλάττονται. *Ex Epist. Alexand. apud Eu-*  
*sebi. lib. 6. cap. 44. p. 246.*

according to the Order of the Bishop, who end  
before given his Permission unto the Presbyter;  
to absolve those, who were in danger  
Death. And as the Bishop of Alexandria  
gave his Presbyters this Power, so  
wise did Cyprian Bishop of Carthage  
who when he was in Exile, ordered

<sup>1</sup> Si premi infirmitate  
aliqua & periculo cœ-  
perint, exomologesi fa-  
cta, & manu eis a vobis  
in pœnitentiam imposita.  
*Epist.* 14. § 1. p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Si incommodo ali-  
quo infirmitatis periculo  
occupati fuerint, non ex-  
pectata præsentia nostra  
apud Presbyterum quem-  
cunque præsentem-- Ex-  
omologesi facere delicti  
sui possint; ut manu eis  
in pœnitentiam imposita  
veniant ad Dominum  
cum pace. *Epist.* 13. § 1.  
p. 39.

Clergy <sup>1</sup> to con- do  
and absolve by Im for  
sition of Hands, for  
who were in on,  
ger of Death. and  
<sup>2</sup> If any were in § 9  
condition, they the  
not expect his King  
sence, but betake the and  
selves to the at C  
Presbyter they may o  
find, who should as fi  
ceive their Confess Ba  
and absolve them Im  
Imposition of Handly

So that it is evident the

that Presbyters, even without the Bishop  
did absolve Offenders, and formally  
ceive them into the Churches Peace  
Imposition of Hands.

Now then, If the Imposition of Hands  
on Persons just after Baptism, and the  
Imposition of Hands at the Restitution

Offende

enders was one and the self-same  
 ing; and if Presbyters had Power and  
 authority to perform the latter, I see no  
 reason why we should abridge them of  
 the former; both the one and the other  
 Confirmation; and if Presbyters  
 could confirm at one time, why should  
 we doubt of their Right and Ability to  
 perform it another time? If it was law-  
 ful for them to impose Hands on one oc-  
 casion, it was as lawful for them to do it  
 another.

§ 9. From the precedent Observation  
 of the Identity of that which we now  
 distinguish by the Names of Confirmati-  
 on and Absolution, it necessarily results,  
 that Confirmation was not like Baptism,  
 once performed, but on many Per-  
 sons frequently reiterated: All Persons af-  
 ter Baptism were confirmed, that is, by  
 the Imposition of Hands and Prayer, the  
 Holy Ghost was beseeched to descend up-  
 on them, and so to fortify them by his  
 heavenly Grace, as that they might cou-  
 rageously persevere in their Christian War-  
 re to their Lives end; but if it should  
 happen, as oftentimes it did, that a-  
 confirmed should fall from the  
 Christian Faith, and be for a time ex-  
 cluded the Churches Peace, when they



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were again admitted, Hands were  
imposed on them, and the Holy Spirit  
again invoked, to strengthen them  
his Almighty Grace, by which they may  
be upheld to the Day of Salvation;  
so as often as any Man fell, and  
restored to the Churches Communion  
often was he confirmed, and the Holy  
Ghost entreated more firmly to establish  
and settle him.

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## CHAP. VI.

1. *Of the Lord's Supper : The Time when administred* § 2. *Persons that received it; none present at the Celebration thereof besides the Communicants.* § 3. *The manner of its Celebration : In some places the Communicants first made their Offerings.* § 4. *The Minister began with a Sacramental Discourse, or Exhortation : Then followed a Prayer, consisting of Petitions and Praises, which consecrated both the Elements at once.* § 5. *After that the Words of the Institution were read.* § 6. *Then the Bread was broken, and the Wine poured out, and both distributed : Diversity of Customs in the manner of the Distribution.* § 7. *The Posture of Receiving.* § 8. *After they had Communicated they sung a Psalm, and then concluded with Prayer, and a Collection for the Poor.*

§ 1. **T**HE first of the Christian Sacraments having been so largely discussed, I now come to treat of the other, viz. The Lords Supper; in the  
1 4.                      handling

handling of which I shall enquire in these three things : 1. The Time. 2. The Person. And, 3. The manner thereof.

First, As for the time of its Celebration : In general, it was at the Conclusion of their Solemn Services, as *Justin Martyr* writes, 'that

<sup>1</sup> *Apolog. 2. pag. 97.*

after they had Read, Sung, Preached and

Prayed, then they proceeded to the Administration of the Eucharist. But as for the particular part of the Day, that seems to have been according to the Circumstances and Customs of every Church. In *Tertullian's* Age and Country they received

it <sup>2</sup> at Supper-time;

<sup>2</sup> In tempore victûs.  
*De Coron. Milit. p. 337.*

from which late Assembling, it is probable, that the Hea-

thens took occasion to accuse them of putting out the Lights, and promiscuously mingling one with another. Which Accusation may be read at large in *Justin Martyr's* Dialogue with *Tryphon*, in *Minutius Felix*, and the Apologies of *Tertullian* with *Athenagoras*. But whether this was then their constant Season in times of Peace, I know not ; this is certain, that in times of Persecution they laid hold



hold on any Season or Opportunity for the enjoying of this Sacred Ordinance : whence *Tertullian* tells us of their

receiving the Eucharist in their Antelucan Assemblies, or, in their Assemblies before Day. And *Pliny* reports, that in his time the Christians <sup>2</sup> were wont to meet together before it was light, and to bind themselves by a Sacrament.

<sup>1</sup> Eucharistiæ Sacramentum etiam antelucanis coetibus. *De Coron. Milit.* p. 338.

his time the Christi-

<sup>2</sup> Ante lucem convenire, — seque Sacramento obstringere. *Epist. ad Trajan.*

<sup>3</sup> In matutinis Sacrificiis — cum ad coenandum venimus, mixtum calicem offerimus. *Epist.* 63. § 12. p. 177.

<sup>4</sup> Christum offerre oportebat circa vesperam diei, ut hora ipsa Sacrificii ostenderet occasum & vesperam mundi — Nos autem resurrectionem Domini manè celebramus. *Ibidem.*

*Cyprian* writes that in his Days <sup>3</sup> they administered this Sacrament both Morning and Evening. And, <sup>4</sup> That as Christ administered the Sacrament in the Evening, to signify the Evening and end of the World. So they celebrated it in the

Morning, to denote the Resurrection of their Lord and Master.

All

All that can be gathered from hence is, That they did not deem any particular part of the Day necessary to the Essence of the Sacrament, but every Church regulated its self herein according to the Diversity of its Customs and Circumstances.

§ 2. As for the Persons Communicating, they were not indifferently all that professed the Christian Faith, as Ori-

<sup>1</sup> Οὐ παντὶ καὶ δοκεῖ  
με χρῆσθαι τοῦ ἁγίου, καὶ  
οὐ πίνειν ἐκ τοῦ ποτηρίου.  
Com. in Johan. Vol. 2.  
Tom. 28. p. 345.

gen writes, <sup>1</sup> It doth not belong to every one to eat of this Bread, and to drink of this Cup. But they were only

such as were in the number of the faith-

<sup>2</sup> Ἡ τε ἐν αὐτῇ κα-  
λεῖται παρ' ἡμῶν ὁ χα-  
ρισία, ἥς ἐστὶν ἄλλω με-  
ταχρῆν ὅσον ὅαν, ἢ τοῦ  
πιστῶντι ἀληθεῖ εἶναι τὰ  
δεδιδασγμένα ὑφ' ἡμῶν,  
καὶ λυσταμένῳ τοῦ ἁγίου ἁρέ-  
σιως ἀμαρτιῶν, καὶ εἰς ἀ-  
γαθὴν ἐννοσιν ἀσθεῖν, καὶ  
ὡς βίβην, ὅς ὁ Χριστὸς  
παρέδωκεν. Just. Martyr.  
Apolog. 2. p. 97.

ful, <sup>2</sup> such as were baptized, and received both the Credentials and Practicals of Christianity. That is, who believed the Articles of the Christian Faith, and lead an holy and a pious Life. Such as these, and none else, were

permitted to Communicate.

Now

Now since none but the Faithful were admitted, it follows that the Catechumens and the Penitents were excluded; the Catechumens because they were not yet baptized, for Baptism always preceded the Lords Supper, as *Justin Martyr* says, <sup>1</sup> *It is not law-*

*ful for any one to partake of the Sacramental Food, except he be baptized.*

The Penitents, because for their Sins

they were cast out of the Church, and whilst excluded from the Peace thereof, they could not participate of the Marks and Tokens of that Peace, but were to be driven therefrom, and not admitted thereto, <sup>2</sup> *till they*

*had fully satisfied for their Faults, lest otherwise they should profane the Body of the Lord, and drink his Cup unworthily, and so be guilty of the Body and Blood of the Lord.*

<sup>1</sup> Ἡς ἕθεν ἐνὶ ἄλλῳ μεταχειρῶν ἔξον ὄν, ἢ—  
λασσαμὲν τὸ ὑποφάγε-  
σαις ἁμαρτιῶν, καὶ εἰς  
ἀναγγένησιν λαλῶν. A-  
polog.2. p.97, 98.

<sup>2</sup> Ante actam pœnitentiam--- offerre lapsis pacem, & Eucharistiam dare, id est, sanctum Domini corpus profanare audeant, cum scriptum sit : Qui ederit panem, aut biberit calicem Domini indignè, reus erit Corporis & Sanguinis Christi. *Cyprian. Epist.* 11. § 1. p.32.

Hence



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Hence when the other parts of Divine Worship were ended, and the Celebration of the Eucharist was to begin, the Catechumens, Penitents, and all, except the Communicants, were to depart,

as *Tertullian* says hereof, <sup>1</sup> *Pious Initiations drive away the Profane.* These being Mysteries

which were to be kept secret and concealed from all, except the Faithful; inasmuch as to others the very method and manner of their Actions herein were unknown, which was observed by the Pagans, who objected to the Christians the Secrecy of their Mysteries, which Charge *Tertullian* does not deny, but confessing it, answers,

<sup>1</sup> *Ex forma omnibus misteriis silentii fides adhibeatur, Samothracia & Eleusinia reticentur. Apolog. cap. 7. p. 674.* <sup>2</sup> *That that was the very Nature of Mysteries to be concealed, as Ceres's were in Samothracia.*

§ 3. The Catechumens with others being gone out, and none remaining but the Faithful, the Celebration of the Eucharist next followed; which brings me to the enquiry of the Third thing, viz. The

The manner of the Celebration thereof. But before I meddle therewith, I shall briefly premise this Observation, viz. That in some places, as in *France* and *Africa* the Communicants first made their Offerings, presenting according to their Ability, Bread, or Wine, or the like, as the first Fruits of

their Encrease, <sup>1</sup> *It being our Duty, as Irenæus writes, to offer unto God the first Fruits of his Creatures, as Moses saith, Thou shalt not appear empty before the Lord.*

<sup>1</sup> Offerre igitur oportet Deo primitias ejus creaturæ, sicut & Moyse ait, non apparebis vacuus ante conspectum Domini Dei tui. *Lib. 4. c. 34. p. 262.*

<sup>2</sup> *Not as if God wanted these things, but to shew our fruitfulness and gratitude unto him.*

<sup>2</sup> Non quasi indigenti, sed ut ipsi nec infructuosi nec ingrati sint. *Lib. 4. cap. 32. p. 261.*

Wherefore Cyprian thus severely blam'd the rich Rich Matrons for their scanty Oblations,

<sup>3</sup> *Thou art rich and wealthy, saith he, and dost thou think duly to celebrate the*

<sup>3</sup> Locuples & dives es, & Dominicum celebrare te credis, quæ Corbonam omnino non respicis? Quæ in Dominicum sine Sacrificio venis, quæ

partem de Sacrificio, quod pauper obtulit, sumis? *De Opere & Eleemosyn. § 14. p. 354.*

Lord's

*Lord's Supper, when thou refusest to give? Thou who comest to the Sacrament without a Sacrifice, what part canst thou have from the Sacrifice, which the Poor offer up?*

These Offerings were employed to the Relief of the Poor, and other Uses of the Church; and it seems probable that a sufficient Quantity of that Bread and Wine was presented to the Bishop, or to him that officiated, to be employed for the Sacramental Elements, whose Consecration next succeeded, which in the main was after this following Manner.

§ 4. It is very likely, that in many Places the Minister first began with an Exhortation or Discourse touching the Nature and end of that Sacrament, which the Congregation were going to partake of, that so their Hearts might be the more elevated and raised into Heavenly Frames and Dispositions. This may be gathered from the History of an Exorcist Woman, related by *Firmilian*, who took upon her to perform many Ecclesiastical Administrations, as to Baptize and Celebrate the Lord's Supper, which last she

did <sup>1</sup> without the wonted Sermon, or, Discourse. Which seems

<sup>1</sup> Sine Sacramento solitæ prædicationis. *Apud Cypr. Epist. 75. § 10. p. 238.*



seems to intimate, that in those days it was customary in Lesser Asia, and perhaps at Carthage too, for the Minister to make a Speech or Exhortation before the Participation of the Sacrament. But whether this Practice was universal, or more ancient than Firmilian, I cannot determine; this that follows was, viz. A Prayer over the Elements by him that Officiated, unto which the People gave their Assent, by saying Amen. This Prayer is thus described by

Justin Martyr, 'Bread and Wine are offered to the Minister, who receiving them gives Praise and Glory to the Lord of all through the Son, and the Holy Ghost; and in a large manner renders particular Thanks for the present Mercies, who when he hath ended his Prayers and Praise, all the People say Amen. And when the Minister hath thus given Thanks, and the People said

<sup>1</sup> Περσφέρειναι τὸ πρῶτον  
εὐχῶν τῶ ἀδελφῶν ἄρτους,  
καὶ ποτῶν ὕδατος, καὶ  
κεράματος, καὶ ἐπι-  
λαβὼν αἶνον καὶ δοξᾶν  
τῷ πατρὶ τῶ ὁλῶν διὰ τῆ  
ὀνόματος τῆ ἡεὶ καὶ τῆ  
πνεύματος τῆ ἀγίας ἀ-  
ναπέμπτει καὶ εὐχαρισ-  
τεῖ τῷ ὁλῶν κατὰ τὴν ὁδοῦ  
τάτων παρ' αὐτοῦ ὅτι  
πολύ ποιεῖται, ὃ συντε-  
λεσάντων τὰς εὐχὰς καὶ  
τὴν εὐχαριστίαν, πᾶς ὁ  
παρῶν λαὸς ἐπιδεικνύει  
λέγων Ἀμήν. Apolog. 2.  
p.97.

<sup>2</sup> Εὐχαριστήσαντες ὁ  
τῶ πρῶτον, καὶ ἐπιδει-  
κνύσαντες πάντες τῶ  
λαῷ, διάκονοι, &c. Ibid.

Amen,

Amen, the Deacons distributed the Elements. And again,

<sup>1</sup> Ἄρτος προσφέρεται καὶ ὄνον καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ ὁ πρεσβυτέρως ἐυχὰς ὁμοίως καὶ εὐχαριστίας ὅση δύναμις αὐτῷ ἀναπέμπει, καὶ ὁ λαὸς ἐπιδεικνύμεν λέγων τὸ Ἀμήν, καὶ ἡ δαΐδουσις καὶ ἡ μεταλήψις ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐχαριστηθέντων ἐκείνων γίνεται. Ibid. p.98.

<sup>3</sup> Bread and Wine are offered to the Minister, who to the utmost of his Abilities sends up Prayers and Praises, and the People say Amen, and then the Consecrated Elements are distributed.

From this Description by *Justin Martyr* of the Sacramental Prayer, we may observe these few things pertinent to the matter in hand.

I. That there was but one long Prayer antecedent to the Distribution of the Elements : For he says, *That the Minister having received the Bread and Wine, he offered up Prayers and Praise unto God in a large manner ; and when he had ended, the People said Amen.*

II. That this long Prayer consisted of two Parts, viz. ἐυχὰς, and εὐχαριστίας, as he calls them, that is, *Petition and Thanksgiving* ; in the former they prayed for the Peace of the Church, the Quiet of the

the World, the Health of their Emperors, and in a Word, for all Men that needed their Prayers, as it is represented by *Tertullian*,<sup>2</sup> *We*

*pray, saith he, for the Emperours, for all that are in Authority under them, for the state of the World,*

<sup>1</sup> *Oramus pro Imperatoribus, pro ministris eorum ac potestatibus, pro statu Sæculi, pro rerum quiete, pro mora finis. Apolog. cap. 39. p. 709.*

*for the Quiet of Affairs, and for the delay of the Day of Judgment.* In the latter they gave God thanks for sending Christ, and for the Institution of that comfortable Sacrament, desiring his Blessing on, and Consecration of, the Elements then before them.

III. That by this one Prayer both the Elements were consecrated at once; for he says, *That the Minister took both Elements together, and blessed them, and then they were distributed.* He did not consecrate them distinctly, but both together.

§ 5. After Prayer was ended, they read the Words of Institution, that so the Elements might be consecrated by the Word, as well as by Prayer. Whence

K

*Origen*



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Origen calls the Sacramental Elements

<sup>1</sup> Τὸ ἀγιασθέν τῷ λό-  
γῳ Θεοῦ καὶ ἐνιεύξεται ἄρ-  
τος — τὸ ἀγιαζόμενον  
βρώμα διὰ λόγου Θεοῦ  
καὶ ἐνιεύξεως. Com. in  
Matth. Vol. I. p. 254.

<sup>2</sup> Quando mixtus ca-  
lix & fractus panis per-  
cipit verbum Dei, fit Eu-  
charistia sanguinis & cor-  
poris Christi. Lib. 5. cap.  
4. p. 318.

Christ.

§ 6. The Elements being thus Consecrated, the Minister took the Bread, and

<sup>3</sup> Panis quem frangi-  
mus — fractus panis. Lib.  
5. cap. 4. p. 318.

brake it, <sup>3</sup> The Bread which we break, or, the broken Bread, as it is styled by Irena-

us, and then gave it to the Deacons, who distributed it to the Communicants, and after that the Cup, which the Deacons in the like manner delivered. So it was in

<sup>4</sup> Εὐχαριστήσαντες ὃ  
τὸ προσώπου — διάκο-  
νοι διδόντες ἐκείνῳ τῷ  
παρόντι, μεταλαβεῖν  
ἄρτους καὶ οἶνον. Apolog. 2. p. 97.

<sup>1</sup> The Food that is sanctified by the Word of God and Prayer. And, that is hallowed by the Word of God, and Prayer. And Irenæus writes,

<sup>2</sup> That when the Bread and Wine perceive the Word of God, then it becomes the Eucharist of the Body and Blood of

Justin Martyr's time and Country, <sup>4</sup> The Element, saith he,

being

being blessed, the Deacons give to every one  
 present of the Consecrated Bread and Wine.  
 But in Tertullian's Time and Country the  
 Minister, and not the Deacons, distribu-  
 ed the Elements,

We receive, faith  
 ne, from no ones  
 Hands but the Bi-

<sup>1</sup> Nec de aliorum ma-  
 nu, quam præsidentium  
 sumimus. *De Coron. Milit.*  
 p. 338.

shops. And yet at  
 the same Place not many years after,

The Deacons offered  
 the Cup to those that  
 were present. So that  
 herein there was a  
 Diversity of Cu-

<sup>2</sup> Calicem Diaconus  
 offerre præscentibus cæ-  
 pit. *Cyprian. de Lapsis*, §  
 20. p. 283.

stoms; In some places the Deacons de-  
 livered the Elements, in others the Bishop,  
 or the Minister that consecrated them.  
 But whether it was done either by Bishop  
 or Deacons, it seems probable, that which  
 of them soever did it, they delivered  
 the Sacramental Bread and Wine particu-  
 larly to each Communicant. I find but  
 one Example to the contrary, and that  
 was in the Church of *Alexandria*, where  
 the Custom was to permit the People to  
 take the Bread themselves from the Plate,  
 or Vessel wherein it was consecrated, as

<sup>1</sup> Τὴν εὐχαριστίαν πνέει  
διανείμαντες, ὡς ἔδϥ,  
αὐτὸν δὴ ἔχασον τῷ λαῷ  
λαβεῖν τὴν κοίτην ἐπι-  
τρέψουσιν. Stromat. lib. i.  
p. 198.

single Communicant.

<sup>2</sup> Ἡ διάδοσις καὶ ἡ  
μετέληψις ἀπὸ τῆς εὐχα-  
ριστιᾶς ἐν τῷ ἑκάστῳ γίνε-  
ται. Apol. 2. p. 98.

So at Carthage in the time of Cyprian

<sup>3</sup> Calicem Diaconus  
offerre presentibus cæ-  
pit. Cyprian. de lapsis, §  
20. p. 283.

for Children and Sucking Infants to re-  
ceive the Sacrament, unto whom it was  
necessary particularly to deliver the Ele-  
ments, since it was impossible for them  
to take it orderly from the Hands of o-  
thers: And therefore when a little suck-  
ing Girl refused to taste the Sacramental

<sup>4</sup> Diaconus—reluctan-  
ti licet de Sacramento  
calicis infudit. Ibid. p.  
284.

is insinuated by 'Ch-  
mens Alexandrinus  
but in most other  
Churches it is like-  
ly that the Elements  
were particularly  
delivered to every

Country of Justin  
Martyr, where <sup>2</sup> the  
Deacons gave to each  
one of the consecra-  
ted Bread and Wine

<sup>3</sup> The Deacons offer-  
ed the Cup to those  
that were present. In  
the time of which  
Father it was usual

Wine, <sup>4</sup> The De-  
acon violently forc'd  
down her Throat  
So it was also at  
Rome



Rome, as appears from what Cornelius reports of his Antagonist Novatian, that when he administered the Sacrament, and divided and gave to each man his part; with his two Hands he held those of the Receiver, saying to him, Swear unto me by the Body and Blood of the Lord Jesus Christ, that thou wilt never leave my Party, to return to that of Cornelius; so forcing the miserable Receiver, instead of saying Amen, to say, I will not return to Cornelius.

Ἰ Ποιήσας γὰρ τὰς  
προσφορὰς καὶ διανέ-  
μων ἐκάσῳ τὸ μέρος καὶ  
ἐπισιδῶς τὸ τε ὀμνύειν ἀν-  
τὶ τοῦ εὐλογεῖν τὰς τα-  
λαιπῶρας ἀνθρώπους ἀ-  
ναγκάζει καὶ ἔχων ἀμφο-  
τέρας ταῖς χερσὶ τὰς τῶ  
λαβόντων, καὶ μὴ ἀ-  
φείς ἐς' ἂν ὀμνύοντες  
εἴπωσι ταῦτα — ὁμοσον  
μοι καὶ τὸ σῶμα, καὶ  
τὸ αἷμα τὸ τοῦ κυρίου  
ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ μηδέ-  
ποτε με καταλιπεῖν καὶ  
ἐπιστρέψαι πρὸς Κορνή-  
λιον, καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἀν-  
θρώπων — ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐ-  
πεῖν λαμβανόντα τὸ ἄρ-  
τον ἐκείνου τὸ Ἄμην, ἐ-  
κέπ' ἀνῆλθω πρὸς Κορνή-  
λιον λέγει. Apud Euseb.  
lib.6. cap.43. p.245.

§ 7. As for the Posture of receiv-  
ing, at Alexandria the Custom was to  
stand at the Table, and receive the  
Elements, which may be supposed to  
have been after this  
manner: The Bread and Wine being

Ἰ Τραπέζῃ ἑστᾶσιν τα.  
Ex Epist. Dionis. Alex-  
and. apud Euseb. lib. 7.  
cap 43. p.245..

K 3 conse-

consecrated, the Communicants came up in order to the Communion Table, and there standing received the Elements, and then returned to their places again. But whether this Practice was universal I know not, or whether any other postures were used, I cannot determin; only as for kneeling, if the Sacrament was Celebrated on the Lords Day, as usually it was, or on any other Day between *Easter* and *Whitsontide*, then no Church whatsoever kneeled; for as *Tertullian* writes,<sup>1</sup> *On the Lords*

<sup>1</sup> Die Dominico— nefas ducimus— de geniculis adorare, eadem immunitate die Paschæ in Pentecosten usque gaudemus. *De Coron. Milit.* p.340.

*Day we account it a Sin to worship kneeling, which custom we also observe from Easter to Whitsontide.*

§ 8. The Elements being thus blessed, distributed, and received, they afterwards sung an Hymn or Psalm to the Praise and Glory of God, as *Tertullian*

<sup>2</sup> Quisque de Scripturis Sanctis, vel de proprio ingenio, provocatur in medium Deo canere. *Apolog. cap. 39.* p. 710.

writes, <sup>2</sup> *Then every one sings an Hymn to God, either of his own Composition, or out of the Holy Scriptures.* Then followed

lowed for a Conclusion a Prayer of Thanksgiving to God Almighty for his inestimable Grace and Mercy; as the

same *Tertullian*

saith, <sup>1</sup> *Prayer concludes this Feast.* To

which was subjoin-

ed a Collection for the Poor. When as

*Justin Martyr* re-

ports, <sup>2</sup> *Every one*

*that was able and*

*willing gave accord-*

*ing to his Ability, and*

*that that was gather-*

*ed, was committed to*

*the care of the Bishop,*

*who relieved therewith*

*the Orphans and Wi-*

*dows, the Sick and di-*

*stressed, Prisoners,*

*Travellers, Strangers,*

*and in a Word, all that had need thereof.*

<sup>1</sup> *Oratio convivium dirimit. Ibidem.*

<sup>2</sup> *Οἱ εὐποροῦντες ὃ καὶ οἱ βελομένοι καὶ περὶ αὐτοὺς ἐκείνη ἡ εὐχὴ ἐστὶν ἡ δόξα, καὶ τὸ συλλεγόμενον πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνην ἀποτίθεται, καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ πνεῦμα ὁρῶν οἷς τε καὶ χήραις, καὶ τοῖς διὰ νόσον, ἢ δι' ἀλλοίαν αἰτίαν λεπτομένοις, καὶ τοῖς ἐν δεσμοῖς ἔσσι, καὶ τοῖς παρεπιδήμοις ἔσσι ξένοις, καὶ ἀπλῶς τοῖς ἐν χρείᾳ, ἔσι κηδεμῶν γίνεται. Apol. 2. p. 98, 99.*



## C H A P. VII.

§ 1. *Of the Circumstances of Publick Worship.* § 2. *Of the Place thereof: In Times of Peace fixed Places for that end, metonymically called Churches.* § 3. *How those Churches were built.* § 4. *No Holiness in those Places.* § 5. *Of the Time of Publick Worship.* § 6. *The First Day of the Week an usual Time.* § 7. *Celebrated with Joyfulness, esteemed holy, and spent in an holy manner.* § 8. *Their Reasons for the Observation of this Day.* § 9. *The usual Title of this Day, The Lord's Day.* § 10. *Sometimes called Sunday, but never the Sabbath-Day.* § 11. *Saturday another Time of Publick Worship.*

§ 1. **H**itherto I have spoken of the several particular Acts of the Publick Worship of the Ancients: I now come, according to my propounded Order, to enquire into the necessary Circumstances thereof. By which I mean such things as are inseparable from all humane Actions, as *Place* and *Time*, *Habit*,

it and *Gesture*. As for *Habit*, as much of that as is Controverted, I have spoken already in that Chapter, where I discoursed of the Ministers *Habit* in Prayer. And as for *Gesture*, I have already treated of *Worshiping* towards the East. And of their *Posture* at the Reception of the Lord's Supper. There is nothing more disputed with reference thereunto, besides the bowing at the Name of Jesus, and the *worshiping* towards the Communion Table; but both these being introduced after my prescribed time, viz. above three hundred years after Christ, I shall say nothing to them, but pass on to the Discussing of the two remaining Circumstances of Publick *Worship*, viz. *Place* and *Time*.

§ 2. First. As for *Place*: This all will readily grant to be a necessary Circumstance of Divine *Worship*; for if we serve God, it is impossible, but that it must be in one place or other. Now one Query with respect hereunto may be, Whether the Primitive Christians had determined fixed Places for their Publick *Worship*? Unto which I answer, That usually they had; though it is true indeed, that in times of Persecution, or when

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when their Circumstances would not permit them to have one usual fixed Place

<sup>1</sup> Πανηγυρικὸν ἡμῶν  
ἄγρον, ἡμίονον, ἀγρῶν, εἰ-  
ρημίας, ναυς, πανδοχεῖον,  
δισμωτήριον. Dyonis. A-  
lex. apud Euseb. lib. 7. c.  
22. p. 268.

they met where or there-  
ever they could, in this  
Fields, Deserts, Ships, Th  
or Inns: Yet in time of  
Peace and Serenity they chose the  
most settled conveni-  
ent Place that they could get, for the

Performance of their Solemn Services in  
which place, by a Metonymy, they called  
the Church. Thus at Rome, the place  
where the Christians met, and chose Fa-

<sup>2</sup> Ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας.  
Euseb. lib. 6. c. 29. p.  
229.

bian for their Bishop, was <sup>2</sup> the Church.  
At Antioch Paulus  
Samosatenus Bishop

thereof, ordered

<sup>3</sup> Ἐν μέσῃ τῇ ἐκκλη-  
σίᾳ. Apud Euseb. lib. 7.  
c. 30. p. 281.

certain Women to  
sing Psalms to his  
Praise <sup>3</sup> in the midst  
of the Church. At  
Carthage the Bapti-

zed Persons renounced the Devil and all

<sup>4</sup> In Ecclesia. Tertul.  
de Coron. Milit. p. 336.

<sup>5</sup> In Lib. de Virgin. Ve-  
land.

his Works <sup>4</sup> in the  
Church. And thus  
<sup>5</sup> Tertullian very  
frequently calls  
their definite pla-

ces for Divine Worship Churches.

§ 3. As



§ 3. As for the Form of these Churches, or the Fashion of their Building, I find this Description of them in *Tertullian*,

*The House of our Dove-like Religion is simple, built on high and in open View, respecting the Light as the Figure of the Holy Spirit, and the East as the representation*

<sup>1</sup> *Nostræ columbæ domus simplex, etiam inæditis semper & apertis, & ad lucem, amat figuram Spiritus sancti, Orientem Christi figuram. Advers. Valentinian. p. 284.*

of Christ. The meaning whereof is, that their Churches were erected on high and open places, and made very light and shining, in imitation of the Holy Ghost's Descent upon the Apostles at the Day of Pentecost, who came down with Fire, or Light upon them; and that they were built towards the East, in resemblance of Christ, whom they apprehended in Scripture to be called the East, concerning which Title, and the reason thereof, I have already discoursed in that Head concerning praying towards the East, unto which place, to avoid repetition, I refer the Reader.

§ 4. But tho they had these fixed Places or Churches for Conveniency and Decency, yet they did not imagin any such Sanctity

Sanctity or Holiness to be in them, as to recommend or make more acceptable those Services that were discharged there in, than if they had been performed elsewhere ; for as *Clemens Alexandrinus*

<sup>1</sup> Πᾶς ἐν καὶ τῷ πᾶσι  
ἱερὸς τῷ ὄντι, ἐν ᾧ τὴν  
ἐκείνου τῷ Θεῷ λαμ-  
βάνομεν. *Stromat. lib. 7.*  
p. 520.

<sup>2</sup> Οὐδέχεται δὲ παρ  
ἐκείνου θυσίας ὁ Θεός,  
εἰ μὴ διὰ τῶν ἱερῶν αὐτοῦ,  
πάντας ἐν οἷς διὰ τῷ ὁ-  
νόματι τέτε θυσίας  
— τὰς ἐν παντί τόπῳ  
τῆς γῆς γινόμενας ὑπὸ  
τῶν χριστιανῶν παραλαβάν  
ὁ Θεὸς μαρτυρεῖ ἐναρ-  
ξῆς ὑπάρχον αὐτῶν. *Di-*  
*alog. cum Tryphon. p.*  
344.

like Emergencies, they scrupled not to meet in other places ; but where ever they could securely joyn together in their Religious Services, there they met, though

<sup>3</sup> Πανηγύειον ἡμῶν  
ἔχον, χωεῖον, ἀγρῶν,  
εἰρημῶν, ναῦς, πανδο-  
χεῖον, δεσμοφύλειον. *Dy-*  
*onif. Alexand. apud Eu-*  
*seb. lib. 7. cap. 22. p.*  
268.

writes, <sup>2</sup> Every place is in Truth holy, where we receive any knowledge of God. And as *Justin Martyr* faith, <sup>2</sup> Through Je-  
sus Christ we are now all become Priests to God, who hath promi-  
sed to accept our Sa-  
crifices in every, or  
in any part of the  
World. And there-  
fore in times of Per-  
secution, or such

it were <sup>3</sup> in Fields, Deserts, Ships, Inns or Prisons, as was the Case and Pra-  
ctice of *Dionysius*  
Bishop of *Alexan-*  
*dria.*

*dria.* So that the Primitive Practice and Opinion with respect to this Circumstance of Place was, That if the State of their Affairs would permit them, they had fixed places for their Publick Worship, called Churches, which they set apart to that use, for Conveniency and Decencies sake; but not attributing unto them any such Holiness, as thereby to sanctifie those Services that were performed in them.

I know nothing more with respect to Place, that requires our Consideration: I shall therefore now proceed to enquire into the *Time* of Publick Worship, under which will be comprehended the Primitive Fasts and Feasts.

§ 5. Time is as necessary a Circumstance to Religious Worship as Place; for whilst we are in this World, we cannot serve God at all times, but must have some determinate time to serve him in: That God's People therefore under the Law might not be left at an uncertainty when to serve him, it pleased the Almighty to institute the Sabbath, the Passover, and other Feasts, at which times they were to congregate and assemble together, to give unto God the Glory due unto his Name:



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**Name.** And for the same end under the Evangelical Administration there are particular Days and Seasons appointed for the Publick and Solemn Worship of the Glorious and Eternal Lord, according to the Sayings of *Clemens Romanus*, God hath

<sup>1</sup> Ὡρισμένοις καιροῖς καὶ ὥραις. Epist. 1. ad Corinth. p. 52.

<sup>2</sup> Κατὰ καιροὺς τεταγμένους. Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Τοῖς προσεταγμένοις καιροῖς. Ibid. p. 53.

be blessed and accepted by him.

required us to serve him <sup>1</sup> in the appointed times and seasons. For which Reason we ought to serve him <sup>2</sup> at those determined times. That so worshipping him <sup>3</sup> at those Commanded Seasons, we may

§ 6. Now the Principallest and chiefest of these prescribed Times was the first Day of the Week, on which they constantly met together to perform their Religious Services. So writes *Justin Martyr* <sup>4</sup> On the Day

<sup>4</sup> Τῇ ᾗ τὸ ἡλίον λεγόμενη ἡμέρα, πάντων χριστιανοῦν ἢ ἀγρῶν μερόντων ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συνελθόντες γίνεται, &c. Apolog. 2. p. 98.

that is called Sunday, all both of the Country and City assemble together, where we preach and pray, and discharge all the other

her usual parts of Divine Worship. Upon which account those parts of God's Publick Worship are styled by Tertullian

The Lord's Days So-

mnities. Aurelius,

who was ordained a

ector, or a Clark,

by Cyprian, is described in the Executi-

on of his Office,

by reading on the

Lord's Day. And

Victorinus Petavio-

ensis represents,

this day, as an usu-

al time, wherein they

received the Lord's

upper. Which was

observed by the

Heathen in Minucius Felix, who men-

tions the Christians

assembling to eat

a Solemn Day. And

Pliny reports, that

the Christians in his time met together

on an appointed day,

to sing Praises unto

Christ, as a God, and

to bind themselves by

a Sacrament.

<sup>1</sup> Dominica Solennia.  
*De Anima. c. 3. p. 530.*

<sup>2</sup> Dominico legit. Cy-  
*prian. Epist. 33. p. 77.*

<sup>3</sup> Die Dominico cum  
gratiarum actione ad pa-  
nem exeamus. *De Fabric.*  
*Mundi apud D. Carve, p.*  
*103.*

<sup>4</sup> Epulas Solenni die  
coeunt. *p. 21.*

Essent soliti stato die  
ante lucem convenire,  
carmenque Christo quasi  
Deo dicere secum invi-  
cem: s. que sacramento  
obstringere. *Epist. ad Tra-*  
*jan.*

§ 7. This

§ 7. This was the Day which C

<sup>1</sup> Ἀρχαῖον ἡμέραν,  
πρὸ τοῦ ὅτι ἀναπαύσιν  
ἡμῶν. Stromat. lib. 6.  
p.492.

<sup>2</sup> Diem Solis lætitiæ  
indulgemus. Apolog. cap.  
16. p.688.

<sup>3</sup> Ἀρχαῖον πρὸ ἡμέραν  
πρὸ ὅτι εὐδοκίαν εἰς εὐφρο-  
σύνην. Epist. Cathol. §  
11. p.244.

<sup>4</sup> Κατὰ κυριακὴν ζῶντων  
ζῶντες. Ad Magnes. p.  
35.

thing on this day that had the least ten-  
dency to, or the least appearance of Sor-  
row and Grief; inasmuch that now the

<sup>5</sup> Die dominico jeju-  
nium nefas ducimus, vel  
de geniculis adorare. Ter-  
tul.de Cor. Mil. p.339,340.

<sup>6</sup> Quantula est enim  
apud nos interdictio ci-  
borum duas in anno Heb-  
domadas Xerophagiarum  
nec totas, exceptis scilicet  
Sabbatis & Dominicis offerimus Deo. Tertullian.  
Jejunio, p651.

mens Alexandrin  
calls <sup>1</sup> the Chief  
Days, our Rest indee  
Which they obse  
ved as the high  
and supremest F  
stival, <sup>2</sup> On Sund  
we give our selves  
Joy, saith Tertullia  
And before hi  
St. Barnabas, <sup>3</sup> W  
keep the Eighth Da  
with Gladness. An  
Ignatius, <sup>4</sup> We  
serve the Lord's Day  
banishing ever

<sup>5</sup> esteemed it a Sa  
either to fast or knee  
Even the Montanist  
themselves, those ri  
gid Observers o  
Fasts and Abstinenc  
ces, <sup>6</sup> Abstained from  
Fasting on this mo  
glad and joyful day

Th



This day they accounted Holy, as *Dyonisius* Bishop of *Corinth*, in his Letter to the Church of *Rome*,  
 faith, <sup>1</sup> *To day being the Lord's Day, we keep it holy.* The way wherein they sanctified it, or kept it holy, was the employing of themselves in Acts of Divine Worship and Adoration, especially in the Publick Parts thereof, which they constantly performed on this day, as has been already proved; and in that fore-mentioned Letter, where *Dyonisius* Bishop of *Corinth*, writ unto the Church of *Rome*, that that day being the Lord's Day, they kept it holy. The manner of sanctifying it is immediately subjoined, <sup>2</sup> *In it, faith he, we have read your Epistle, as also the first Epistle of Clemens.* And *Clemens Alexandrinus* writes, <sup>3</sup> *That a true Christian, according to the Commands of the Gospel, observes the Lords Day, by casting out all evil*

<sup>1</sup> Τὴν σήμερον ἔν κυριακὴν ἁγίαν ἡμέραν διηγάζομεν. Apud Euseb. lib.4. cap.23. p. 145.

<sup>2</sup> Ἐν ἡ ἀνεγνώσαμεν ὑμῶν τὴν ἐπιστολὴν — ὡς καὶ πρὸ προτέρων ἡμῖν διὰ Κλημεντος γεγραμμένην. Ibidem.

<sup>3</sup> Οὗτος ἐπιστολὴν τὴν κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον διαπορεύσας, κυριακὴν ἐκείνου τὴν ἡμέραν ποιεῖ ὅτ' αὐτὸν ἐποβάλλῃ σαυτὸν νόημα καὶ γνώσκειν προσλάβει, τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ τῇ κυρίᾳ ἀνάστασιν δοξάζων. Strom. lib.7. p. 535.

L Thoughts

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Thoughts, and entertaining all good ones, glorifying the Resurrection of the Lord on the day.

§ 8. The Reason why they observe this Day with so much Joy and Gladness, was, that they might gratefully commemorate the glorious Resurrection of their Redemer, that happened there

<sup>1</sup> Ἀγορεύον τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν ὀγδόην εἰς εὐφροσύνην, ἐν ᾗ καὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀνέστη ἐκ νεκρῶν. Epist. Catholic. § 11. p. 244.

<sup>2</sup> Κατὰ κυριακὴν ζώοντες, ἐν ᾗ καὶ ἡ ζωὴ ἡμῶν ἀνέτειλεν δι' αὐτοῦ. Eist. ad Magnes. p. 35.

And so says Clemens Alexandrinus

<sup>3</sup> Κυριακῶς ἐκείνῳ τὴν ἡμέραν ποιεῖ — πῶς ἐν αὐτῷ τὰ κυρίως ἀνάστασιν δοξάζων. Stromat. lib. 7. p. 535.

<sup>4</sup> Τὴν δὲ τῆς ἡλίας ἡμέραν κοινῇ πάντες πῶς συνάλθουσιν ποιεῖμεθα, ἐπειδὴ πρώτη ὕμνη ἡμέρα, καὶ ὁ Θεὸς τὸ ἐκείνη καὶ

on. So writes Barnabas, <sup>1</sup> We keep the eighth day with gladness, on which Christ arose from the Dead. So says Ignatius, <sup>2</sup> Let us keep the Lord's Day, on which our Life arose through him.

<sup>3</sup> He that truly observes the Lord's Day, glorifies there in the Resurrection of the Lord. Just Martyr relates that <sup>4</sup> On Sunday the Christians assembled together, because it was the first Day of the Week.

Week, on which God  
out of the confused  
Chaos made the World,  
and Jesus Christ our  
Saviour arose from  
the Dead; for on Fry-  
day he was Crucified,  
and on Sunday he ap-  
peared to his Apostles  
and Disciples, and  
taught them those  
things that the Chri-  
stians now believe.

πὺ ὅλῳ τρέ-μας, κόσ-  
μον ἐποίησε καὶ Ἰησοῦς  
Χριστὸς ὁ ἡμέτερος σω-  
τὴς τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκ  
νεκρῶν ἀνέστη, τῇ γὰρ αὐτῇ  
τῆς κεννικῆς ἐστὶν ἡμέρᾳ  
αὐτὸν, καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ τὴν κεν-  
νικῶν, ἥτις ἐστὶν ἡλίε· ἡ-  
μέρᾳ φανεῖς τοῖς ἀποστό-  
λοις αὐτοῦ καὶ μαθηταῖς  
ἐδίδαξε πάντα ὅπερ εἰς  
ἐπίσκειν καὶ ὑμῶν ἀνε-  
δώνμεν. Apolog. 2. p.  
99.

And to the same  
purpose Origen adviseth his Auditors to  
pray unto Almighty  
God, \* especially on  
the Lord's Day,  
which is a Comme-  
moration of Christ's  
Passion; for the Re-  
surrection of Christ  
is not only celebrated  
once a year, but every seven days.

\* Maximè in Domini-  
ca die, quæ passionis  
Christi Commemoratrix  
est; neque enim resurre-  
ctio Domini semel in  
Anno, & non semper  
post septem dies celebra-  
tur. In Isaiam. Homil. 5.

§ 9. From hence it was, that the u-  
sual Appellation of this Day both by the  
Greek and Latin Churches, was *The  
Lords Day*. So it is styled by *Clemens A-  
lexandrinus*.



<sup>1</sup> Strom. lib. 5. p. 437.  
& lib. 7. p. 535.

<sup>2</sup> De Fabric. Mund. apud  
Dr. Cave, Hist. literar. p.  
103.

<sup>3</sup> Dies Dominicus. A-  
pud Cyprian. Ep. 59. § 3.  
p. 164.

<sup>4</sup> Dominicum diem.  
De Idololat. p. 623.

*minicus*, that is, *the Lords*, without the  
dition of the Word *Day*, as it is

<sup>5</sup> Ad Magnes. p. 35.

<sup>6</sup> Epist. 33. p. 77.

*alexandrinus*, τὴν κ  
ακὴν ἡμέραν, *the Lo*  
*Day*. And among  
the Latins, by *V*

*rinus Petavione*  
*Dies Dominicus*,  
*Lords Day*. As

by an <sup>3</sup> *African*  
*nod*, And by <sup>4</sup> *T*  
*tullian*. Someti

it is simply call  
ἡ κυριακή, and,

called τὴν κυριακήν  
by <sup>5</sup> *Ignatius*. A

*Dominicus* by <sup>6</sup>  
*prian*.

§ 10. So that the *Lords Day* was  
common and ordinary Title of this  
fied and glorious Day; though someti  
in compliance with the Heathens,  
they might know what Day they me  
thereby, they called it in their Phra  
*Sunday*, so termed because Dedicated  
the Sun.

Thus *Justin Martyr* informing the He  
thens of the Time and Manner of  
Christia

Christians Assemblies, tells them<sup>1</sup> that on the Day call-  
ed Sunday they met  
together for their Religious Exercises. And,  
that on Sunday they  
assembled together.

<sup>1</sup> Τῇ τῷ ἡλίου λεγομένη  
ἐμέρᾳ πάντων χτ' πόλεις  
ἢ ἀγρὸς μενόντων ὅτι τὸ  
αὐτὲ σωέλδσις γίνεται  
— πὴν ὃ τῷ ἡλίου ἡμέ-  
ραν. Apolog. 2. p. 98, &  
99.

and so Tertullian upon the same occasion  
tells the Heathens know that the Christi-  
ans<sup>2</sup> indulged them-  
selves on Sunday to  
Mirth and joyfulness.

<sup>2</sup> Diem Solis lætitiæ  
indulgemus. Apolog. c.  
16. p. 688.

But though they so far complied with  
the Heathens as to call *this Sunday*, yet I  
do not find that they ever so far indul-  
ged the Jews as to call it the *Sabbath Day*;  
for through all their Writings, as may

be especially seen  
in<sup>3</sup> Tertullian, and  
Justin Martyr, they  
violently declaim

<sup>3</sup> Advers. Judæos.

<sup>4</sup> Dial. cum Tryphon.

against Sabbatizing, or keeping the Sab-  
bath Day, that is, the Judaical Observa-  
tion of the Seventh Day, which we must  
always understand by the Word *Sabbatum*  
in the Writings of the Ancients, not the  
Observation of the first Day, or the Lords  
Day; for that was constantly celebra-

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ted, as it has been already proved, and by those who condemn the Observance of the Sabbath-Day, the Sanctification of the Lord's Day is approved and recommended, as by *Justin Martyr* and *Tertullian* in those Passages already cited, unto which we may add that clear Passage

<sup>1</sup> Μὴκέτι σαββαρίζετε ἀλλὰ καὶ κυριακὴν ζώετε ζῶντες, ἐν ᾗ καὶ ἡ ζωὴ ἡμῶν ἀνέτεκεν δι' αὐτῆς. Epist. ad Magnesi. p. 35.

<sup>2</sup> Κατὰ τὸ σαββατίζειν ἐορτάζετω πᾶς φιλόχειρος τὴν κυριακὴν, τὴν ἀναστάσιμον, τὴν ὑπαπαντῆς ἡμερῶν — ἐν ᾗ καὶ ἡ ζωὴ ἡμῶν ἀνέτεκεν, καὶ τὸ θάνατον ἡμῶν νίκη ἐν Χριστῷ. Epist. interpol. ad Magnesi. p. 149.

*Christ.*

of *Ignatius*, <sup>1</sup> Let us no longer Sabbatize, but keep the Lord's Day, on which our Life rose. Or as it is more fully expressed in his interpolated Epistle, <sup>2</sup> Instead of Sabbatizing, let every Christian keep the Lord's Day, the Day on which Christ rose again; the Queen of Days, on which our Life arose, and Death was conquered by

§ 11. So that their not Sabbatizing did not exclude thir keeping of the Lords Day, nor the Christian, but only the Judaical



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laical Observance of the Sabbath, or Se-  
venth Day; for the Eastern Churches,  
in compliance with the Jewish Converts,  
who were numerous in those Parts, per-  
formed on the Seventh Day the same  
publick Religious Services that they did  
on the First Day, observing both the one  
and the other as a Festival. Whence *Origen*

enumerates <sup>1</sup> *Satur-*

day as one of the

four Feasts solem-

nized in his time;

though on the contrary, some of the  
Western Churches, that they might not  
seem to Judaize, fasted on *Saturday*, as

*Victorinus Petavio-*

*nenfis* writes, <sup>2</sup> *We*

*use to fast on the Se-*

*venth Day. And, It*

*is our custom then to*

*fast, that we may*

*not seem with the*

*Jews to observe the*

*Sabbath.*

<sup>1</sup> Παράσχαλιν. *Cont.*  
*Cels. lib.8. p.392.*

<sup>2</sup> Die septima—so-  
lemus superponere —  
Parasceve superpositio fi-  
at, ne quod cum Judæis  
Sabbatum observare vi-  
deamur. *De Fabric. Mun.*  
*apud D. Cave. p. 103.*

So that besides the Lord's Day, *Satur-*  
*day* was an usual Season whereon many  
Churches solemnized their Religious Ser-

L 4

vices.

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vices. As for those other times, in which they Publickly assembled for the Performance of Divine Worship, they will fall under the two General Heads of *Times of Fasting* and *Times of Feasting*, of which in the following Chapters.

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CHAP.

## CHAP. VIII.

§ 1. *Of the Primitive Fasts, two-fold, Occasional and Fix'd. Of Occasional Fasts, what they were, and by whom appointed.*

§ 2. *Of fixt Fasts, two-fold, Weekly and Annual: Wednesdays and Fridays weekly Fasts; till what time of the Day observed, and why observed.* § 3. *One necessary Annual Fast, viz. Lent. Why they fasted at Lent, and how long Lent lasted.* § 4. *Of the manner of their Fasts. Three sorts of Fasts, viz. Statio, Jejunium, and Superpositio. What those several kinds were, and at what times observed.*

§ 1. **I**N this Chapter I shall make an Enquiry into the Primitive Fasts, which may be considered in a two-fold respect, either as Occasional, or Fixt.

Occasional Fasts were such, as were not determined by any constant fixed Period of Time; but observed on extraordinary and unusual Seasons, according as the Variety and Necessity of their Circumstances did require them. Thus in  
Times



Times of Great and Imminent Danger either of Church or State, when by their Sins they had kindled God's Wrath and Fury against them, that they might divert his Vengeance, and appease his offended Majesty, they appointed set Days and Times for the Abasing of themselves before the Lord, for the seeking of his Face by Prayer and Fasting, abstaining from the Food of their Bodies, and practising all external Acts of Humiliation, as so many Indications of the internal Contrition of their Hearts and Souls. So Cyprian in the time of a sharp Persecution advi-

<sup>1</sup> Ad placandum atque exorandum Dominum, non voce sola, sed & jejuniis, & lachrymis, & omni genere deprecationis ingemiscamus. *Epist.* 8. § 1. p. 22.

And when the same Father foresaw an approaching Persecution, he writ to Cornelius Bishop of Rome,

<sup>2</sup> Quoniam providentia Domini monentis instruimur — appropinquare jam certaminis & agonis nostri diem, jejuniis, vigiliis, orationibus

sed his Flock <sup>1</sup> To seek to appease and pacifie the Lord, not only by Prayers, but by Fastings, and by Tears, and by all kind of Intreaties. And when the same

<sup>2</sup> That since God was pleased in his Providence to warn them of an approaching Fight and Tryal, they ought wish

with their whole Flocks diligently to fast and watch, and pray, to give themselves to continual Groans, and frequent Prayers; for those are our Spiritual Arms, that make us firmly to stand and

insistere, cum omni plebe non desinamus, incumbamus gemitibus assiduis, & deprecationibus crebris, hæc sunt enim nobis arma cœlestia, quæ stare & perseverare fortiter faciunt. *Epist. 57. S. 3. p. 159.*

persevere.

Tertullian jeers the Heathens, ' That in times of Danger or great necessity, after they had voluptuously and sensually glutted themselves, they then run to the Capitol, and with all outward Signs of Humility, deprecated Gods Judgments, and implored his mercy, whilst in the meantime they were Enemies unto him. But, says he, We on such Emergencies and Occasions abstain from all things, give our selves wholly to fasting, roll our selves

' Denique cum ab imbribus æstiva, hyberna suspendunt, & annus in cura est, vos quidem quotidie pasti, statimque pransuri, balneis & cauponis & lupanaribus operati, Aquilicia Jovi immolatis, Nudipedalia populo denunciatis, Cœlum apud Capitolium queritis, nubila de laquearibus expectatis, aversi ab ipso & Deo & Cœlo. Nos vero jejuniis aridi, & omni continentia aspersi ab omni vitæ fruge dilati, in sacco & cinere voluntantes, invidia Cœlum tundimus, Deum tangimus, & cum misericordiam extorserimus, Jupiter honoratur. *Apolog. cap. 40. p. 711.*

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*in Sackcloth and Ashes ; thus incline God as it were to repent, to have Mercy and Compassion upon us ; for by this way God is honoured.*

These Occasional Fasts were appointed by the Bishops of every Church, as they saw fit and necessary. So writes *Tertullian*,

<sup>1</sup> *Episcopi universæ Plebi mandare jejunia absolent — ex aliqua sollicitudinis ecclesiasticæ causa. De Jejun. p.650.*

*The Bishops are wont to ordain Fasts for their Churches, according as the Circumstances of the Churches require.*

§ 2. The next sort of Fasts were set or fixed ones, that is, such as were always observed at the same Time and Season ; and these again were two-fold, either Weekly or Annual. First, Weekly. These were kept every *Wednesday* and *Friday*, as *Clemens Alexandrinus* relates

<sup>2</sup> *Τῆς νηστείας — τῆς περὶ τοῦ καὶ τῆς ὡραίας. Strom. lib. 7. p. 534.*

that <sup>2</sup> they fasted on every *Wednesday* and *Friday*. These Fasts were commonly called *Stations*, in allu-

sion to the Military Stations, or the Soldiers standing, when on the Guard. Thus *Tertul-*



Tertullian mentions,

<sup>1</sup> Their Stationary Days. And writes that <sup>2</sup> Wednesdays and Fridays were Stations. On these Stationary Days their Fasts ended <sup>3</sup> at three a Clock in the Afternoon; whence they are called by Tertullian, <sup>4</sup> The half Fasts of Stations. Though some on Fridays lengthened out their Fasts <sup>5</sup> till Evening.

Why they fasted on Wednesday rather than on any other Day of the Week, I cannot find; but on Friday they chose to fast <sup>6</sup> because Christ was Crucified there-  
on.

<sup>1</sup> Stationum dies. *De Orat.* p.661.

<sup>2</sup> Stationibus quartam & sextam Sabbati dicamus. *De Jejunio*, p. 651.

<sup>3</sup> Non ultra nonam detinendum. *Tertul. de Jejun.* p.648.

<sup>4</sup> Stationum Semijeiunia. *Ibid.* p.650.

<sup>5</sup> Jejunium facimus. *Victor. Petav. apud D. Cave*, p.103.

<sup>6</sup> Ob Passionem Domini. *Victor. Petav. ubi antea.*

§ 3. The next sort of fixed Fasts is such as are annual, of which kind they had but one, viz. Lent. And indeed besides this, they had no other necessary fixed Fast, neither Weekly nor Yearly; the Faithful were not strictly obliged to  
the

the observation of any other, as will be evident from what follows.

It is true, they fasted *Wednesdays* and *Fridays*, but this was *ex Arbitrio*, of their own Free Will and Choice, not *ex imperio*, of Command or Necessity. For when the *Montanists* began to impose as a Duty other stinted Fasts, they were for so

Τίς δ' αὖν ἔτι ὁ  
περὶ αὐτῶν διδάσκαλος;  
τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν καὶ ἡ δι-  
δασκαλία δείκνυσιν, ἔ-  
τι δ' ὅτιν ὁ διδάξας λυ-  
σεις γάμων, ὁ νηστείας νό-  
μοθετῶν. Apud Euseb.  
lib. 5. cap. 18. p. 184.

teaches the Dissolution of Marriages, and prescribes Fasts. And for the same Practice they were accused by the Orthodox, for

<sup>2</sup> Galatis nos quoque  
percuti aiunt Observato-  
res dierum, & mensium  
& annorum. Tertul. de  
jejun. p. 645.

doing branded as  
Hereticks, <sup>1</sup> Who, saith Apollonius con-  
cerning Montanus,  
is this new Doctor?  
His Works and Do-  
ctrin evidently declare  
him, this is he that

<sup>2</sup> Galaticising, or com-  
mitting the Error of  
the Galatians in ob-  
serving Days, and  
Months, and Years.

But that the Ancients esteemed *Lent* to be the only necessary fixed Fast, and any other, even the Stationary Days to be indifferent, will appear most evidently from this ensuing Passage of *Tertullian*,  
*Tertullian*

Tertullian being now a *Montanist*, and defending their prescribed Fasts against the Orthodox, thus jeeringly exposes the Opinions of his Adversaries with respect to the necessary determined times of Fasting. <sup>1</sup> Forsooth, saith he, they think that according to the Gospel, those days are to be prescribed Fasts, wherein the Bridegroom was taken away, (i.e. Lent) and those to be the only Fasts of Christians, the Legal and Prophetic Fasts being abolished; and that for others we may indifferently fast, according to our Will, not out of necessity or command, but according to our circumstances and conditions, and that so the Apostles observed, commanding no other

<sup>1</sup> Certè in evangelio illos dies jejuniis determinatos putant, in quibus ablatus est sponsus: & hos esse jam solos legitimos jejuniorum Christianorum abolitis legalibus, & propheticiis vetustatibus, — Itaque de cætero indifferenter jejunandum ex arbitrio, non ex imperio novæ disciplinæ pro temporibus & causis uniuscujusque: Sic & Apostolos observasse, nullum aliud imponentes jugum certorum & in commune omnibus obeundorum jejuniorum: proinde nee stationum, quæ & ipsæ suos quidem dies habebant quartæ feriæ & sextæ, passim tamen currunt, neque sub lege præcepti neque ultra supremam diei, quando & orationes ferè hora nona

concludat de Petri exemplo quod actis refertur. De Jejunio, p. 645.

fixed



*fixed and common Fasts besides this; not the Stationary Days, which indeed they keep on Wednesdays and Fridays, and do observe, but yet not in obedience to any Command, or to the end of the Day, but Prayers are concluded at three a Clock in the Afternoon, according to the Example of Peter in the Acts.*

So that from hence it is evident, That the Orthodox apprehended themselves to be free from the necessary Observation of the Stationary Fasts, and to be only strictly obliged to fast on those Days, wherein the Bridegroom was taken away; or on *Lent*, from which Periphrasis of *Lent* we may collect both the Reason and the Duration thereof.

First, The Reason thereof, or the Ground on which they founded the necessity of this Fast, and that was on that Saying of Christ, in *Matth. 9. 15.* *The Days will come when the Bridegroom shall be taken from them.* This they imagined to be an Injunction of Christ to all his Followers, to fast at that time, when the Bridegroom should be taken away. The Bridegroom they esteemed to be Christ, the time when he was taken away, his Crucifixion, Death, and continuing under

the Power of Death to the instant of his Resurrection, during which time they thought themselves by the forementioned Command obliged to fast.

Secondly, From hence we may observe the Duration of this Fast, or how long it was continued, and that was, from the time that Christ the Bridegroom was taken away, to the time that he was restored again, that is, from his Passion to his Resurrection. Now according to their Various Computations of the beginning and end of Christ's being taken away, so was the Duration of their Fast; some might reckon from Christ's Agony in the Garden, others from his being betrayed by Judas. Some again from his being fastned to the Cross, and others from his being actually dead; and so according to these Diversities of Computations were their Fasts either lengthened or shortned. This we may probably suppose to be the occasion of the different Observations of this Fast with respect to its Duration, as we find it in *Irenaus*,

Some, says he, esteem, that they must fast but one Day, others two, others more, and

Οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὁρίονται  
μίαν ἡμέραν δεῖν αὐτοὺς  
νηστεῖν, οἱ δὲ δύο, οἱ δὲ  
καὶ πλείονας, οἱ δὲ τεσσα-  
M some

ἐλάυντα ὡς ἡμερὰς  
 τε καὶ νυκτερινὰς συμμέ-  
 τερον τὴν ἡμέραν αὐτῶν.  
 Apud Euseb. lib. 5. cap.  
 24. p. 193.

some allow to this Fast  
 forty Hours. Which  
 last space of Time  
 seems to have been  
 their general and

common Allowance: Whence this Fast  
 was afterwards called τεσσαρεσκωστή, or, *Quadragesima*, that is, not a Fast of Forty  
 Days, in imitation of Christ's Fasting in  
 the Wilderness, but a Fast of Forty  
 Hours, beginning at Friday Twelve  
 Clock, about which time Christ was dy-  
 ing, and ending Sunday Morning, when  
 Christ arose. So that from Twelve  
 Clock Good Friday, as we call it, when  
 Christ the Bridegroom was taken away,  
 they fasted, in obedience to his Com-  
 mand, as they imagined, till Sunday  
 Morning, when he was found again by  
 his Resurrection, at which time they for-  
 got their Sorrow and Mourning, con-  
 cluded their Fast, and began the joyful  
 Festival of Easter, or of Christ's Resur-  
 rection.

§ 4. As for the manner of their Fasts  
 we may observe them to be of three  
 sorts, viz. *Statio*, *Jejunium*, and *Superpo-*  
*sitio*; *Station*, *Fasts*, and *Superposition*; all  
 which three are at once mentioned by

Victorinus



*Victorinus Petavio-  
nensis, ' We fast, says  
till the ninth hour,  
till evening, or  
there is a Superposition  
till the next morning.*

<sup>1</sup> Usque ad horam  
nonam jejunamus, usq;  
ad vesperam, aut super-  
positio usque in alterum  
diem fiat. *De Fabric. Mun.*  
*apud D. Cave, p. 103.*

I. There was the Fast of Stations,  
which ended at Three a Clock in the Af-  
ternoon, or at the Ninth Hour, as it is  
called in the fore-cited Passage of *Victo-  
rinus Petavionensis*. This sort of Fasting  
was used on *Wednesdays* and *Fridays*, which  
Days, as we have shewn before, were call-  
ed Stationary Days, and on them Divine  
Services were ended at Three a Clock  
in the Afternoon, for which Reason *Mon-  
tanizing Tertullian*  
terms them, <sup>2</sup> *The*  
*Half Fasts of Sta-*  
*tions.*

<sup>2</sup> Stationum. semije-  
junia. *De Jejun. p. 650.*

II. The next sort was strictly called  
*Jejunium*, or a *Fast*; which, according to  
the forecited place of *Victorinus Petavoni-  
ensis*, lasted till Evening: Of this sort, it  
is probable, their Occasional Fasts were,  
as *Tertullian* writes,  
<sup>3</sup> *In times of necessity  
and danger we dry up*

<sup>3</sup> Denique cum ab  
imbris æstiva, &c. ....  
Nos jejuniis aridi, & om  
M 2

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ni continentia aspersi---  
Invidia Cœlum tundi-  
mus. *Apolog. cap. 40. p.*  
711.

our selves with Fa-  
sting, abstain from  
all Meat, roll  
selves in Dust and

*Ashes*, and by these means cause God to  
have mercy upon us. Though it is al-  
likely, that in times of more eminent  
Danger they extended these Fasts unto  
that of *Superposition*.

The Second sort of Fasts was observed  
by some on *Fridays*, who turned the Sta-  
tion into a Fast, as *Victorinus Petavionensis*

<sup>1</sup> Ob Passionem Do-  
mini Jesu Christi aut  
Stationem do, aut jeju-  
nium facimus. *De Fa-  
bric. Mund. apud D. Cave,*  
p. 103.

*sis* writes, <sup>1</sup> On Fri-  
day, in Commemora-  
tion of the Lord's  
Passion, I either keep  
a Station, or observe  
a Fast.

III. The last sort of Fasts was called  
*Superposition*, or, as by the Greeks, *ὑπερ-  
θεσις*, which lasted till the Morning of the  
next Day, according to that of *Victorinus*

<sup>2</sup> Superpositio usque  
in alterum diem fiat. *De  
Fabric. Mundi apud D.  
Cave, p. 103.*

*Petavionensis*, <sup>2</sup> Let  
*Superposition* be done  
till the next Day.

As for the Times when this Fast was  
observed, I find that in some of the  
Western Churches they so kept every  
Saturday

From Saturday throughout the Year, fasting hereon till Midnight, or till the beginning of Sunday Morning, as *Victorinus*

*Metavioniensis* says,  
Let Superposition  
be done on Satur-  
day, lest we should  
seem to observe the  
Jewish Sabbath. But

<sup>1</sup> Parasceve superposi-  
tio fiat, ne quod cum  
Judæis Sabbatum obser-  
vare videamur. *Ibid.* p.  
103.

not only in these, but in other Churches  
also, they so fasted on *Easter Eve*, or  
on the *Saturday* preceeding that *Sunday*,  
which being *Lent*, was so necessary and  
usual, that *Tertullian* enumerating those  
particular Acts of Divine Worship, that  
a Christian Woman could not freely  
perform, if married to a Pagan Hus-  
band, reckons this

as one, <sup>2</sup> That on  
*Easter Eve* she could  
not stay up, and  
watch that Night:

<sup>2</sup> Quis Solennibus  
Paschæ abnoctantem se-  
curus sustinebit. *Ad*  
*Uxor. lib. 2. p. 429.*

But to please her Husband, must be di-  
verted from this necessary Fast, that  
usher'd in the Glorious Festival of *Easter*,  
which brings me in the next place to  
enquire into this, and their other Feasts,  
of which in the ensuing Chapter.



## CHAP. IX.

§ 1. Of the Primitive Feasts, two-fold, Occasional, and Fix'd. § 2. Of Easter. § 3. Of Whitsunday. § 4. Of Christmas: On what Day of the Year Christ was born. § 5. Of Epiphany. § 6. Besides these no other Feasts in Commemoration of Christ, The Virgin Mary, or the Apostles. The Apostles not called Saints in the Primitive Writings. § 7. Festivals in Commemoration of the Martyrs Observed on the Annual Day of their Martyrdom: Persons appointed to take an exact Account of the Day of their Decease. § 8. Why those Festivals were observed. The Day of the Martyr's Death termed their Birth-days. § 9. The Place where these Festivals were Solemnized: Of the Burying-place of the Apostles. § 10. The manner of the Observation of these Festivals.

§ 1. **A**S the Primitive Feasts were two-fold, so likewise were their Feasts, either Occasional, or Fixed. As for those that were Occasional, I shall

pass them over, because not controverted, and come immediately to enquire into their Fixed Feasts, which, as their Fast, were also two-fold, either Weekly or Annual. Of their Weekly Feasts, which were *Sundays*, and in the Oriental Churches *Saturdays*, I have already discoursed, so that there only remains an Enquiry into their Annual Feasts, which, besides the Martyrs Festivals, were two, viz. *Easter* and *Whitsunday*, or at most Three, viz. *Easter*, *Whitsunday*, and *Christmas*, of each of which in their Order.

§ 2. I begin with *Easter*, as being the ancientest Feast of all, concerning which *Tertullian*

writes, <sup>1</sup> *We Celebrate Easter in the first Month every Year. Cyprian* mentions their <sup>2</sup> *Easter Solemnities*. And *Origen* reckons <sup>3</sup> *Easter* as one of the

<sup>1</sup> Pascha celebramus annuo circulo in mense primo. *De Jejun.* p. 651.

<sup>2</sup> Solennia Paschæ. *Epist.* 53. § 2. p. 131.

<sup>3</sup> Τῆς πάσχα. *Contra Celsum*, lib. 8. p. 392.

four Festivals observed in his time. But that they Solemnized *Easter*, is a thing so well known, that it will be unnecessary to prove it, especially since every one knows, or at least might easily know,

M +

those

those sharp Contests and Debates that were in the Church about the time when it should be kept ; the whole Affair hath been at large related by several Hands in our own Tongue ; amongst others, by the most learned Dr. *Cave*, in his *Apostolici*, in the Life of *Irenæus*, to which I refer the Curious, contenting my self with giving a very brief Account of the Controversie, which was this : The Churches of the *Lesser Asia* kept their *Easter* the same day that the Jews kept their Passover, on what day of the Week soever it hapned. The Church of *Rome*, with other Churches, kept it the Lords Day after. This Diversity of Customs created a violent Disorder and Confusion amongst the Christians ; for the Church of *Rome* would impose their Usages on the Churches of the *Lesser Asia*, unto which the latter peremptorily refused to submit. To appease these Heats and Storms, *Polycarp* Bishop of *Smirna* came to *Rome* to confer with *Anicetus* Bishop of that Church about it, who agreed, that every Church should be left to follow its own Custom, as accordingly they were to the times of Pope *Victor*, who revived this Controversie, and was so turbulent and imperious, as that he excommunicated the

*Asiatics,*



*Asiatics*, for refusing to comply with the Church of *Rome* in this matter, condemning them as Hereticks, loading them with the long and frightful Name of *Tessareskaidekatita*, or, *Quartodecimani*, so called because they kept their *Easter Quarta Decima Luna*, upon the Fourteenth Day after the appearance of the Moon, or at the Full Moon, on what Day soever it happened. But however the *Asiatics* stood their Ground, and still maintained their old Custom, till the Council of *Nice*, Anno 325. by their Authority decided this Controversie, decreeing, that throughout the whole Christian World, *Easter* should be observed not on the Day on which the Jewish Passover fell, but on the Lord's Day ensuing, as it was ever after observed and followed.

§. 3. The next Feast that was observed was *Whitsunday*, or *Pentecost*, in Commemoration of the Holy Ghosts Descent on the Apostles, which also was very ancient, being mentioned several times by <sup>1</sup> *Tertullian* ; and reckon'd by *Origen* for one of the

<sup>1</sup> *De Coron. Milit. p. 340. De Baptism. p. 604. & De Idololatria, p. 623.*

<sup>1</sup> *four*

<sup>1</sup> Τα ὡς ἦν περὶ ἡ-  
μῖν κλεικῶν, ἢ ὡς  
καλῶν, ἢ τὸ πάσα, ἢ τῆς  
πεντηκοστῆς δι' ἡμερῶν γι-  
νόμενα. Contra Celsum.  
lib.8. p.392.

<sup>1</sup> four Festivals ob-  
served in his time,  
the other Three be-  
ing *Sundays*, *Satur-*  
*days*, and *Easter*.

§ 4. As for Christmas, or the time of  
Christs Nativity, there is a Passage in  
*Clemens Alexandrinus*, which seems to in-  
timate, that it was then observed as a  
Festival : For speaking of the Time when  
Christ was born, he says, that those who had  
curiously search'd into it, affixed it to the  
25th Day of the Month *Pachon*. But the

<sup>2</sup> Οἱ ὅτι ἐπὶ Βασιλείδῃς  
καὶ τὸ βαπτίσματι αὐ-  
τὸ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐορτάζουσιν.  
Strom. lib.1. p. 249.

*Basilidian Hereticks*  
held otherwise, <sup>2</sup> who  
also observed as a  
Feast, the Day of  
Christs Baptism.

From which Words *who also*, if that be  
the meaning of the Words οἱ ὅτι—καὶ, one  
might be apt to infer, that the meaning  
of *Clemens Alexandrinus* was, that the *Ba-*  
*silidians* not only feasted at the time of  
Christs Nativity, but also at the time of  
his Baptism. But whether this Interpre-  
tation will hold, I leave to the Learned  
Reader to determin. On the contrary,  
there are other Considerations, which  
more strongly insinuate, that this Festi-  
val

val was not so early solemnized, as that when Origen reckons up the <sup>1</sup> Feasts observed in his Age, he mentions not one Syllable of Christmas; and it seems improbable that they should Celebrate Christs Nativity, when they disagreed about the Month and Day when Christ was born.

<sup>1</sup> κυριακῶν — ἡμέ-  
ραν — πάσα — πεντα-  
κοστής. Contra Celsum  
lib.8. p. 392.

Clemens Alexan-  
drinus reckons <sup>1</sup> from  
the Birth of Christ  
to the Death of Com-  
modus, exactly one  
hundred ninety four  
Years, one month,

<sup>2</sup> Γίνονται ἔν αὐτῷ ἔτῳ  
Κύριου ἐγεννήθη ἔως  
Κομύδου τελευτῆς  
πάντα ἔτη ἑκατὸν ἐννε-  
κοντατέσσαρες, μὴν εἴς  
ἡμέρας 17. Strom. lib.  
1. p. 249.

and thirteen days; which years must be computed according to the Nabonassar, or Egyptian Account, who varied from this in our year, in that they had only 365 days in a year, never taking notice of the odd Hours, or Quadrant of a Day, that every fourth Year makes a whole Day, and are accordingly by us then added to the Month of February, which maketh the Bissextile or Leap-year. So that though the Egyptians always begun their Year with the first day of the Month Thoth, yet making no Ac-  
count



count of the Annual odd Hours, that Month wandereth throughout the whole Year : And whereas now the first Day of that Month is the first Day of our *March*, about Seven Hundred Years hence, it will be the first of *September* ; and after Seven Hundred Years more, or near thereabouts, it will come to the first of *March* again. Wherefore that we may reduce unto our Style this Calculation of *Clemens Alexandrinus*, we must deduce, for those odd Hours which are not accounted, one Month and Eighteen Days, and so reckoning the Birth of Christ from the Death of *Commodus*, which happened on the first Day of *January*, to be One Hundred Ninety Four Years, wanting five or six Days, it will appear that Christ was born on the 25<sup>th</sup> or 26<sup>th</sup> of the Month of *December*, according to the *Julian* Account, which is the Epoch we follow.

But as the same Father farther writes in the same place,

Ἐἰσὶ δὲ οἱ ἀειεργότερον τῆς γενέσεως τῶ σω-  
τῆρος ἡμῶν ἔμμενον τὸ  
ἔτος, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς ἡ-  
μέραν προστιθέντες, ἣν  
φασὶν—ἔν περὶ τῇ Πα-  
χων καὶ εἰς γὰρ. Ibid. p.  
249.

There were some, who more curiously searching after the Year and Day of Christs Nativity, affixed the latter to the 25<sup>th</sup>

25th of the Month Pachon. Now in that Year in which Christ was born, the Month Pachon commenced the twentieth Day of April: So that according to this Computation Christ was born the 16th Day of May. Nay, there were yet some other ingenious Men, as the same Father continues to write,

that assigned Christ's Nativity to the 24th or 25th of the Month

<sup>1</sup> Καὶ μὲν πινὲς αὐτοῦ  
φασι παρμενίδι γεννηθῆσαι  
καὶ ἡ κε. Ibid. p. 249.

Pharmuthi, which answers to our 16th or 17th of April: So that there were Diversities of Opinion concerning the Time of Christs Birth, which makes it very probable, that there was then no particular Feast observed in Commemoration of that glorious and transcendent Mercy.

§ 5. There is yet another Feast called by us Epiphany, wherein there is a Commemoration of Christs Baptism, which I find to have been peculiarly Solemnized by the Basilidian Hereticks. For thus Clemens Alexandrinus reports it to be a particular Custom of theirs, <sup>1</sup> to keep as a Festival the day of Christs Baptism.

<sup>1</sup> Οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Βασιλείδου  
καὶ τῆ βαπτίσματος αὐ-  
τοῦ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐορτάζουσιν.  
Strom. lib. i. p. 249.

The

The Day on which Christ was baptized,

<sup>1</sup> φασὶ ὅτι εἶναι τὸ πεν-  
τακαίδεκάτον ἔτος Τι-  
βερίου, Καίσαρος, τὴν  
πεντακαίδεκάτῃ τῷ πε-  
ντήμῳ. Ibid. p.249.

<sup>1</sup> they said to be the  
fifteenth of the Month  
Tyby, in the fif-  
teenth Year of the  
Reign of the Emperor  
Tiberius; Which

answers to our One and Thirtieth of  
December; or as others imagin'd it,

<sup>2</sup> Τινὲς ὅτι αὐτὴν ἐν δε-  
κάτῃ τῷ αὐτῷ μῶνῳ.  
Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> On the Eleventh of  
the Month Tyby,  
which was the Se-  
ven and Twentieth

of our December.

§ 6. Besides these forementioned Fe-  
stivals, there were none others observed  
to the Honour of the blessed Jesus, nor  
of the Virgin Mary, nor of the Holy A-  
postles and Evangelists; and which may  
be a little observable, it is very seldom,  
if ever, that the Ancients give the Title  
of Saints to those Holy Persons, but sing-

<sup>3</sup> A Petro ordinatum.  
Tertul. de Præscript. ad-  
vers. Hæret. p.78.

<sup>4</sup> Tunc Paulus, &c.  
Idem. Sscorpiac. advers.  
Gnostic. p.615.

<sup>5</sup> Ab Johanne conlocatum. Idem. de Præscript.  
advers. Hæret. p. 78.

ly style them, <sup>3</sup> Pe-  
ter, <sup>4</sup> Paul, <sup>5</sup> John,  
&c. not St. Peter,  
St. Paul, or St. John.

§ 7. But



§ 7. But now there was another sort of Festivals, which every Church Celebrated in the Commemoration of its own Martyrs, which was, on the Anniversary Day of their Martyrdoms: They assembled together, where they recited the Martyrs Glorious Actions, exhorted to an Imitation of them, and blessed God for them. So says Cy-

prian, <sup>1</sup> *The Passions of the Martyrs we Celebrate with an Anniversary Commemoration.* And so

writes Tertullian, <sup>2</sup> *Upon the Annual Day of the Martyrs Sufferings, we offer Thanks to God for*

them. When this Practice began, cannot certainly be determined; it is first found mentioned in the Letter of the Church of Smirna to the Church of Philomilium, touching the Death of Polycarp, wherein they write, <sup>3</sup> *That*

*they had gathered up his Martyr'd Bones, and buried them in a decent place, where,*

<sup>1</sup> *Martyrum Passiones & dies anniversaria commemoratione celebramus. Epist. 34. § 3. p. 80.*

<sup>2</sup> *Oblationes pro defunctis, pro natalitiis annua die facimus. De Coron. Milit. p. 339.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ἡμεῖς ἀνελόμηναι τὰ πρῶτα λίθον πολυτελῶν καὶ δοκιμώτερον χρύσιον ὅσα αὐτῷ ἀπεδέμεθα ὅπως καὶ ἀκό-*

say

λαβόν ἥν ἔνθα ὡς συνα-  
τὸν ἡμῖν συναγορεύοις  
ἐν ἀγαλλιάσει καὶ χα-  
ρᾷ, παρέξει ὁ Κύριος  
ὑπὲρ τὴν τῆς μαρτυ-  
ρίας αὐτῆς ἡμέραν γενέθ-  
λιον. Apud Euseb. lib.  
4. cap. 15. p. 135.

certain of the very day of the Martyrs Sufferings, there were some appointed to take an exact Account of them, and faithfully to register them, that so there might be no mistake. Thus Cyprian writ from his Exile to the Clergy of

\* Dies eorum, quibus excedunt, annotare, ut commemorationes eorum inter memorias Martyrum celebrare possimus — Significet mihi dies quibus in carcere beati fratres nostri ad immortalitatem gloriose mortis exitu transeunt, & celebrentur hic à nobis oblationes & Sacrificia ob commemorationes eorum. *Epist.* 37. § 2. p. 87, 88.

he might also celebrate it.

say they, if possible, we will meet to celebrate with Joy and Gladness the Birthday of his Martyrdom. Hence that they might be cer-

tain of the very day of the Martyrs Sufferings, there were some appointed to take an exact Account of them, and faithfully to register them, that so there might be no mistake. Thus Cyprian writ from his Exile to the Clergy of his Church, <sup>1</sup> That they should take special care, exactly to note down the very day of the Martyrdom of the Faithful, that so they might be commemorated amongst the Memories of the Martyrs, and to signify to him the precise time of their departure to a glorious Immortality, that so

§ 8. The Reasons for which they observed these Festivals, we find in the fore-mentioned Letter of the Church of *Smir-*

*na*, wherein they write, ' That they would meet to celebrate with Joy and Gladness the Martyrdom of Polycarp, for the Commemoration of those who had

Ἐπελῆν τὴν τῷ μαρτυρίᾳ αὐτοῦ ἡμέραν γενέθλιον, εἰς τὴν ὡς ἡθληκότων μνήμην, καὶ τῇ μελλόντων ἀσκήσειν τε καὶ ἐτοιμασίαν. Apud Euseb. lib. 4. cap. 15. p. 135.

already gloriously striven, and for the Confirmation and Preparation of others by their Examples. So that their Design was twofold, to animate and encourage others to follow the glorious Examples of those Heroick Martyrs, who were commemorated before their Eyes, and to declare the Honour and Veneration, that they had for those invincible Champions of Jesus Christ, who by their Martyrdoms were now freed from all their Miseries and Torments, and translated to a blessed and glorious Immortality, in an happy manner experiencing the Truth of that Scripture in *Ecclesiastes* 7. 1. That the day of a Man's Death is better than the day of his Birth. Whence the Time of the Martyrs Deaths was usually termed their

N

Birth



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Birth-Day, because then was a Period of all their Grief and Trouble, and a beginning of their everlasting Bliss and Felicity. Thus in the forementioned Letter of the Church of *Smirna* concerning the Death of *Polycarp*, they write,

<sup>1</sup> Τὸ μαρτυρεῖς ἀπὸ τῆς  
ἡμέρας γενέθλιον. Apud  
Euseb. lib. 4. c. 15. p. 135.

<sup>1</sup> That they would  
meet to celebrate with  
joy and gladness the  
Birth-day of his Mar-

tyrdom. And so *Tertullian* says, that

<sup>2</sup> Oblationes pro de-  
functis, pro natalitiis an-  
nua die facimus. *De Co-*  
*ron. Milit.* p. 339.

<sup>2</sup> they annually com-  
memorated the Birth-  
days of the Martyrs;  
that is, their Death-  
days; as he writes

in another place concerning *Saint Paul*,

<sup>3</sup> Tunc Paulus civita-  
tis Romanæ consequitur  
nativitatem, cum illic  
Martyrii renascitur ge-  
nerositate. *Scorpiac. adv. Gnostic.* p. 615.

<sup>3</sup> That he was born at  
Rome, when he suf-  
fered Martyrdom  
there.

§ 9. As for the Place where these An-  
niversary Solemnities were performed,  
it was at the Tombs of the Martyrs,  
who were usually buried with the rest of  
the Faithful, in a distinct place from the  
Heathens, it being their Custom to in-  
ter the Christians by themselves, separate  
from

from the Pagans ; accounting it an heinous Crime , if possibly it could be prevented , to mingle their Sacred Ashes with the defiled ones of their Persecuting and Idolatrous Neighbours. Wherefore in the Ratification of the Deposition of *Martialis* Bishop of *Astorga* by an *African* Synod held *Anno* 258, this was one of the Articles alledg'd

against him, <sup>2</sup> *That he had buried his Sons after the Pagan manner, in Gentile Sepulchres, amongst Men of another Faith.* And

<sup>1</sup> *Filios— exterarum gentium more apud profana Sepulchra depositos, & alienigenis consepultos. Apud Cyprian. Epist. 68. § 7. p. 202.*

for this Reason it was, that the surviving Christians would run upon ten thousand Hazards, to collect the scattered Members of the Dead Martyrs, and decently to inter them in the common Repository of the Faithful. As when *Emilian* the barbarous Prefect of *Egypt*, forbade any, under Severe Penalties, to entomb the Dead Bodies of the murdered Saints, and sedulously watched if any would darst to do it. Yet *Eusebius* a Deacon of *Alex-*

*andria*, <sup>1</sup> *resolutely ventured upon it ;*

<sup>2</sup> *Τὰς γὰρ συνάτων πεισολὰς τοῦ τελείων καὶ μακαρίων μαρτύρων ἐκ ἀκινδύνως ἐκτελεῖν.* D ony<sup>s</sup>. *Alexand.* apud *Euseb.* lib 7. c. 11. p. 61.

N 2

And

And it is applauded by the Historian as an Act of Religious Boldness and Freedom, whereby *Asturias* a Roman Senator rendred himself renowned, in that when

<sup>1</sup> Παρὼν τῶν κείνων  
τελευτήσαντι μάρτυρι,  
τὸν ὁμῶν ὑποδείξας ὅτι  
λαμπρῶς καὶ πολυτελῶς  
ἐδύνητο ἄρας ὁ σκῆνον  
ὁππότερον, περὶ εἰλας τε  
ἐν μάλα πλαστικῶς τῇ  
προσηκούνῃ ταύτῃ ᾠδῇ.  
Ἰδωσ. Euseb. lib. 7. cap.  
16. p. 264.

<sup>1</sup> he saw the Martyrdom of Marinus at Cæsarea, he took his martyred Body, clothed it with a precious Garment, bore it away on his own Shoulders, and magnificently and decently interred it. And in a

Letter from the Christians of *Lyons* and *Vienna* in *France* to the Churches of *Asia*, concerning their sore and grievous Persecutions, we find them passionately complaining of the Inhumane Cruelty of their Persecutors,

<sup>2</sup> Τὰ ὅ καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐν  
μεγάλῳ καὶ δεινῇ πέν-  
θει, διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι  
τὰ σώματα κρύψαι τῇ  
γῇ, ἕτερον δὲ νύξιν σω-  
βαίλλετο ἡμῶν ἄλλοις τῶ-  
ν, ἕτερον ἀργύρια ἐπέειδεν,  
ἕτερον λιτανεία ἐδυσώπει,  
παντὶ ὅ τρέπων παρετή-  
ρεν ὡς μέγα τι κερδα-  
νῆντες, εἰ μὴ τὸ χρεῖν  
ταύτης. Apud Euseb. lib.  
9. cap. 1. p. 165.

<sup>2</sup> that neither Prayers nor Tears, neither Gold nor Silver, could prevail with them, to permit them to collect the dead Bodies of their murdered Brethren, and decently to inter them. As on the other hand, the Faith-  
ful



ful of the Church of *Smirna* rejoiced, that they had gotten the most precious Bones of *Polycarp*, which they buried

<sup>1</sup> ὅπερ καὶ ἀκόλουθον ὡς,

*ubi decebat*, where they

ought, as *Valesius*

renders it; that is,

as seems most probable, at the common Burying Place of the Christians.

Now it was at these Tombs and Sepulchres that the Memories of the Martyrs were solemnized. Thus in the fore-cited Letter of the Church of *Smirna* to the Church of *Philomilium*, they write, that <sup>2</sup> in that place

where they had in-

terr'd the Bones of

*Polycarp*, they would

by the Blessing of God

assemble together, and

celebrate his Martyr-

dom; Which was a

Practice so usual and constant, as that the

Heathens observed it: So that as on the

one hand, under the Persecution of *Va-*

*lerian*, *Emilian* the Prefect of *Egypt*

threatned *Dionysius Alexandrinus* and his

Fellow-Sufferers, that for their Obstinacy

and Ingratitude, as he termed it, he

would send them into *Lybia*, to a desert

place

<sup>1</sup> Apud Euseb. lib. 4. cap. 15. p. 135.

<sup>2</sup> Ἐνθα ὡς δὴ καὶ τὸν  
ἡμῶν σωτηριολόγους ἐν ἀ-  
γαλλιάσει, καὶ χαρᾷ  
παρέξει ὁ Κύριος ὅπως  
λεῖν πῶς τὸ μαρτυρεῖν  
αὐτὸς ἡμέραν γενέθλιον.  
Apud Euseb. lib. 4. cap.  
15. p. 135.

<sup>1</sup> Οὐδαμῶς ὅτι ἔξαι  
— ἢ συνόδους ποιεῖσθαι,  
ἢ εἰς τὰ καλὲς κοι-  
μητήρια εἰσέρχονται. Dion.  
Alex. apud Euseb. lib. 7.  
cap. 11. p. 258.

place called *Cephro*,  
<sup>1</sup> where they should  
not meet together, or  
go to those places call-  
ed *Cemeteries*. That  
is, the places where  
the Martyrs and the rest of the Faithful  
were buried; so on the other hand, when  
*Galienus Valerian's* Son restored Peace to  
the Churches, he published an express

<sup>2</sup> Τὰ τῶν καλῶν  
κοιμητῶν ἀπολαμβά-  
νειν ὁπότερον ἴθι.  
Apud Euseb. lib. 7. cap.  
13. p. 262.

Edict <sup>2</sup> for returning  
to the Christians the  
*Cemeteries* that were  
taken from them.

§ 10. If in the next place it shall be  
enquired, how they observed these Festi-  
val Days. I answer, that they did not,  
according to the fashion of the Heathens,  
spend them in Riot and Debauchery, in  
Bacchanalian Revellings and Luxury, but  
in Religious Exercises and Employments,

<sup>3</sup> Ἐορτάζει γὰρ καὶ ἀ-  
λήθειαν, ὅτι τὰ θεῶν  
πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ἀεὶ εὐχόμενος,  
διὰ πάντας θύων τὰς ἀ-  
ιμακίας ἐν ταῖς πρὸς  
τὸ θεῶν εὐχαῖς θυσίαις.  
Contra Celsum, lib. 8. p.  
392.

in Prayers and De-  
votions. <sup>3</sup> He, saith  
*Origen*, truly keeps a  
*Festival*, who does  
what he ought to do,  
always praying, and  
by his Prayers of-  
fering

fering up unbloody Sacrifices unto God.

The Solemnities of these Feast Days were not Drunkenness and Gluttony, but Acts of Piety and Charity. Now they publicly assembled, as the Church of *Smirna* writes in her Letter concerning the Death of

*Polycarp*, <sup>1</sup> to commemorate the Martyrs Courage and Triumphs, and to exhort and prepare o-

thers to the same glorious and renowned Actions. Or as *Tertul-*

*lian* expresses it, <sup>2</sup> now they offered Oblati-

ons. Or as *Cyprian*, <sup>3</sup> They offered Oblations and Sacrifices; that is, they offered Thanks and Praise

to God, that had given Grace to those Martyrs, to Seal his Truths with their Blood, and in evidence of their Gratitude distributed of their Substance to the Poor and indigent.

<sup>1</sup> Εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν ἐκείνην, καὶ τὴν μελλόντων ἀσκήσιν τε καὶ ἐτοιμασίαν. Apud Euseb. lib. 4. cap. 15. p. 135.

<sup>2</sup> Oblationes facimus. De Coron. Milit. p. 339.

<sup>3</sup> Celebrantur hic à nobis oblationes & Sacrificia. Epist. 37. § 2. p. 88.



## CHAP. X.

§ 1. *Of the Rites and Ceremonies : The difference between them.* § 2. *Of Ceremonies : Many used by the Ancients, which through various ways crept into the Church.* § 3. *Of Rites : Every Church followed its own Rites without imposing them on any other.* § 4. *The Members of every Church obliged to observe the Rites of that Church where they lived.* § 5. *The Conclusion of this Enquiry, with an earnest Perswasion to Peace, Unity and Moderation.*

§ 1. **H**AVING in the precedent Chapters enquired into the several Parts of Divine Worship, and the Circumstances thereof, I now come to close up all with a brief Appendix concerning Rites and Ceremonies, by which I mean two different things : By Rites, I understand such Actions as have an inseparable Relation to the Circumstances or manner of Worship : As for Instance. The Sacrament was to be received in one manner or other, but whether from the  
Bishop

Bishop or Deacon, that was the Rite. *Lent* was to be observed a certain space of Time, but whether One Day, or Two Days, or Three Days, that was the Rite thereof. So that Rites are necessary Concomitants of the Circumstances of Divine Worship, Appendages to them; or, if you rather please, you may call them Circumstances themselves.

By Ceremonies, I mean such Actions as have no regard either to the Manner or Circumstances of Divine Worship, but the Acts thereof may be performed without them; as for instance, In some Churches they gave

to Persons<sup>1</sup> *when they were baptized, Milk and Hony.* And,

<sup>2</sup> *Before they prayed, they washed their Hands.* Now both these Actions I call

Ceremonies, because they were not necessary to the Discharge of those Acts of Divine Worship, unto which they were affixed; but those Acts might be performed without them; as Baptism might be entirely administered without the Ceremony of giving Milk and Hony, and Prayers might

<sup>1</sup> *Suscepti lactis & mellis concordiam prægustamus. Tertul. de Coron. Milit. p. 337.*

<sup>2</sup> *Manibus ablutis— Orationem obire. Idem De Oratione, p. 659.*

might be presented without washing of Hands.

Now having explained what I intend by those two Terms of Rites and Ceremonies, let us in the next place consider the Practice of the Primitive Church with reference thereunto. And first for Ceremonies.

§ 2. It is apparent that there were many of that kind crept into the Church, of whom they may say, that from the be-

Ἦν δ' ὁ ἱερός πῦρ  
ἀποστόλων χεῖρ διαφύει  
εἰλήφει τὸ βίβλιν τελευτῶν  
πλυνθῆναι τῆς ἀδελφῆς  
πλάτης πλὴν ἀρχὴν ἐ-  
λάμβανεν ἡ σύνασις. A-  
pud Euseb. lib. 3. cap. 32.  
P. 104.

ginning they were not so: For when <sup>1</sup> the Quire of the Apostles was dead, till which time, as Hegesippus writes, the Church remained a pure and unspotted Virgin; then

the Church was gradually spotted and corrupted, as in her Doctrin, so also in her Worship, an Infinity of Ceremonies by degrees insensibly sliding in, very many of which were introduced within my limited time, as <sup>2</sup> the

<sup>2</sup> Suscepti lactis & mellis concordiam prægustamus, exq; ea die lavacro quotidiano per totam hebdomadam abstinemus. Tertul. de Coron. Milit. p. 337.

eating of Milk & Honey after Baptism, the abstaining from Baths



the Week after, <sup>1</sup> the  
washing of their  
Hands before Prayer,  
their sitting after  
Prayer, and many  
other such like,  
which through various ways and means  
winded themselves into the Church; as  
some came in through Custom and Tra-  
dition; one eminent Man perhaps in-  
vented and practised a certain Action,  
which he used himself, as judging it fit  
and proper to stir up his Devotion and  
Affection; others being led by his Ex-  
ample performed the same, and others a-  
gain imitated them, and so one followed  
another, till at length the Action became  
a Tradition and Custom, after which  
manner those Ceremonies were introdu-  
ced, <sup>2</sup> of tasting Milk  
and Honey after Bap-  
tism, of abstaining  
from the Baths the  
whole ensuing Week,  
of not kneeling on the  
Lords Day, and the  
space between Easter  
and Whitsuntide, of  
the Signing of them-  
selves with the Sign

<sup>1</sup> Manibus ablutis---  
orationem obire--- ad-  
signata oratione assiden-  
di mos est quibusdam. I-  
dem de Orat. p. 659, 660.

<sup>2</sup> Suscepti lactis &  
mellis concordiam præ-  
gustamus, exque ea die  
lavacro quotidiano per  
totam hebdomadam ab-  
stinemus---Die Domi-  
nico nefas ducimus de  
geniculis adorare, eadem  
immunitate à die Pas-  
chæ in Pentecosten us-  
que gaudemus --- ad  
omnem progressum atq;

of

promotum, ad omnem  
aditum & exitum —  
quacunque nos conversa-  
tio exercet frontem cru-  
cis signaculo terimus. Ha-  
rum & aliarum. ejusmo-  
di Disciplinarum si le-  
gem exoptules Scrip-  
turarum, nullam inveni-  
es, traditio tibi præcen-  
detur auctrix, consuetudo  
confirmatrix. *Idem de Co-  
ron. Milit. p. 337, 340,  
341.*

may say what *Tertullian* says of Custom

\* Fere consuetudo i-  
nitium ab aliqua igno-  
rantia vel simplicitate  
fortita in usum per suc-  
cessionem corroboratur,  
& ita adversus veritatem  
vindicitur, sed Dominus  
noster Christus verita-  
tem se, non consuetudi-  
nem cognominavit. Si  
semper Christus & prior  
omnibus, æquè veritas  
sempiterna & antiqua  
res--- Hæreses non tam  
novitas quam veritas re-  
vincit, quodcunque au-  
versus veritatem sapit,  
hoc erit Hæresis, etiam  
vetus consuetudo. *De Vir-  
gin. Veland. p. 385.*

of the Cross in all  
their Actions and  
Conversations, con-  
cerning which and  
the like, *Tertullian*  
writes, That there  
was no Law in Scrip-  
ture for them, but that  
Tradition was their  
Author, and Custom  
their Confirmer. Of  
which Custom we  
in general, that  
commonly Custom  
takes its rise from Ig-  
norance and Simpli-  
city, which by Suc-  
cession is corroborated  
into use, and so vin-  
dicated against the  
Truth: But our Lord  
Christ hath called him-  
self Truth, and not  
Custom; wherefore if  
Christ was always,  
and before all, then  
Truth was first and  
ancientest; it is not  
so much Novelty as  
Verity

*Verity that confutes Hereticks: Whatsoever is against the Truth is Heresie, although it be an old Custom.*

Others again were introduced through a wrong Exposition or Misunderstanding of the Scripture; so were their Exorcisms before Baptism, and their Unctions after Baptism, as in their proper places hath been already shewn.

Finally, Others crept in through their Dwelling amongst the Pagans, who in their ordinary Conversations used an Infinity of Superstitions; and many of those Pagans, when they were converted to the Saving Faith, Christianiz'd some of their innocent former Ceremonies, as they esteemed them to be; either thinking them decent and proper to stir up their Devotion, or likely to gain over more Heathens, who were offended at the plainness and nakedness of the Christian Worship, of which sort

were <sup>1</sup> *their washing of Hands before Prayer, their sitting after Prayer, and such like.*

Concerning whom Tertullian affirms, that they were practised by the Heathens.

<sup>1</sup> Manibus ablutis—  
orationem obire--- ad-  
signata oratione assiden-  
di mos— gentilibus  
adæquant. De Orat. p.  
659, 660.

So



So that by these and such like Methods it was, that so many Ceremonies imperceptibly slid into the Ancient Church, of some of which *Tertullian* gives this severe

<sup>1</sup> Quibus merito vanitas exprobanda est, siquidem sine ullius aut Domini aut Apostolici præcepti auctoritate fiunt, hujusmodi enim non Religioni, sed Superstitioni deputantur, affectata & coacta & curiosi potius quam rationalis officii. Certe vel eo coercenda quod gentilibus adæquent. *De Orat.* p. 659.

Censure, <sup>1</sup> *That they are deservedly to be condemned as vain, because they are done without the Authority of any Precept, either of our Lord, or of his Apostles; that they are not Religious, but Superstitious, affected and constrained, curious rather than reasonable, and*

*to be abstained from because Heathenish.*

§ 3. As for the Rites and Customs of the Primitive Church, these were, indifferent and arbitrary; all Churches being left to their own Freedom and Liberty to follow their peculiar Customs and Usages, or to embrace those of others, if they pleased; from whence it is, that we find such a variety of Methods in their Divine Services, many of which may be observed in the precedent part of this Discourse; as, some received the Lords Supper.

Supper at one time, others at another; Some Churches received the Elements from the Hands of the Bishop, others from the Hands of the Deacons; some made a Collection before the Sacrament, others after; some kept *Lent* one Day, some two days, and others exactly forty Hours; some celebrated *Easter* on the same Day with the Jewish Passover, others the Lords Day after; and so in many other things one Church differed from another, as

*Firmilian* writes, that <sup>1</sup> at Rome they did not observe the same Day of Easter, nor many other Customs which were practised at Jerusalem; and so in most Provinces many Rites were varied according to the Diversities of Names and Places.

<sup>2</sup> Circa celebrandos dies Paschæ, & circa multa alia divinæ rei Sacramenta videat esse apud illos aliquas diversitates, nec observari illic omnia æqualiter, quæ Hierosolymis observantur, secundum quod in cæteris quoque plurimis provinciis multa pro locorum & nominum diversitate variantur. *Apud Cyprian. Epist. 75. § 5. p. 237.*

So that every Church followed its own particular Customs, although different from those of its Neighbours, it being nothing necessary to the Unity of the Church, to have an Uniformity of Rites; for according to *Firmilian*, the Unity of  
the

<sup>1</sup> Fidei & veritatis unanimi-  
tatem. *Apud Cypr.*  
*Epist. 75. § 2. p. 236.*

of Modes and Customs ; for on the  
contrary, the Diversity of them, as *I-*  
*renaeus* speaks with reference to the Fast of

<sup>2</sup> Ἡ διαφωνία τῆς ὁμολογίας  
καὶ τῆς ἐκείνων ὁμολογίας τῆς  
πίστεως ὁμοιότητι. *Apud*  
*Euseb. lib. 5. c. 24. p. 193.*

the Church consisted

<sup>1</sup> in an unanimity of  
*Faith and Truth*, not  
in an Uniformity

*Lent*, <sup>2</sup> did commend  
and set forth the U-  
nity of the Faith.

Hence every Church peaceably follow-  
ed her own Customs, without obliging  
any other Churches to observe the same ;  
or being obliged by them to observe the  
Rites that they used ; yet still maintaining  
a loving Correspondence, and mutual  
Concord each with other ; as *Firmilian*

<sup>3</sup> Plurimis provinciis  
multa pro locorum &  
nominum diversitate va-  
riantur, nec tamen prop-  
ter hoc ab Ecclesiae Ca-  
tholicae pace atque uni-  
tate aliquando discessum  
est. *Apud Cyprian. Epist.*  
*75. § 5. p. 237.*

writes, that <sup>3</sup> in  
most Provinces many  
Rites were varied ac-  
cording to the Di-  
versities of Names  
and Places ; but yet,  
saith he, never any  
one for this broke the  
Peace and Unity of

the Church. One Church or Bishop did  
not in those days Anathematize another  
for.



for a disagreement in Rites and Customs ; except when *Victor* Bishop of *Rome*, through his Pride and Turbulency , excommunicated the Asiatick Bishops for their different Observation of *Easter* from the Church of *Rome* ; which Action of his was very ill resented by the other Bishops of the Christian Churches , and condemned by them as alien from Peace and Unity, and contrary to that Love and Charity, which is the very Soul and Spirit of the Gospel ; even the Bishops of his own Party, that celebrated *Easter* on the same Day that he did, censured his rashness and violence, as unchristian and uncharitable, and writ several Letters , wherein <sup>1</sup> they severely checkt him , as *Eusebius* reports, in whose time they were extant , all which are now lost , except the Fragment of an Epistle, written by *Irenaus*, and other Bishops of *France*, wherein <sup>1</sup> they affirm, that *Victor* was in the right with respect to the time of *Easter*, that it ought to be celebrated, as he said, on the Lords Day, but that

<sup>1</sup> Πληκτικώτατον χα-  
δαπτομύων. Lib. 5. cap.  
24. p. 192.

<sup>1</sup> Παείσαται μὲν τὸ  
δεῖν ἐν μόνῃ τῇ τῆς  
κωριακῆς ἡμέρας τῇ  
τῆς τῆς κωίης ἀναστά-  
σεως ὁππότελεῖται μυ-  
στήριον, τῷ γεμῆν Βί-  
κτωρ πρὸς τὸν τῶς αἰ-

○

yet

μη ἀποκόπτοι ὅλας ἐκ-  
κλησίας. Ὡς ἀρχαίαι  
ἔδρας ὡς ἀδούσιν ὀπι-  
τηρέας—ἔδὲ γὰρ μόν-  
ον ὡς τῆς ἡμέρας  
ὄσιν ἢ ἀμφοισβήτησις,  
ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς τῶ εἶδους  
αὐτῆς τῆς νηστείας, οἱ  
μὴ γὰρ οἰονταί μίαν ἡ-  
μέραν δεῖν αὐτὴς νη-  
στεύειν, οἱ δὲ δύο, οἱ  
δὲ καὶ πλείονας, οἱ δὲ  
τρεῖς ἔχοντα ὥρας ἡ-  
μερινὰς τε καὶ νυκτερι-  
νὰς συμμετρεῖσι πρὸς  
ἡμέραν αὐτῇ, καὶ  
τοιαύτη μὴ ποικιλία  
τῶ ὀπιτηρέων, ἐν ᾧ  
ἐφ' ἡμῶν γερωνῆα, ἀλ-  
λὰ καὶ πολὺ πρετε-  
ρον ὅτι τῶ πρὸς ἡμῶν  
—καὶ ἔδὲν ἐλαττον  
παῖτες ἔτοι εἰρήνω-  
σάν τε, καὶ εἰρηνώο-  
μεν πρὸς ἀλλήλους,  
καὶ ἡ διαφωνία τῆς νη-  
στείας πρὸς ὁμονίαν  
τῆς πίστεως σωίσκει  
—καὶ οἱ πρὸς Σωτῆρος  
πρεσβύτεροι οἱ πα-  
σάντες τῆς ἐκκλησίας  
ἢς νῦν ἀφηγῆ, Ἀνι-  
κτον λέγομεν καὶ  
Πίσον, ὕμνον τε καὶ  
Τελεφόρον καὶ Ζύ-  
σον, ἔτε αὐτοὶ ἐτήρη-  
σαν, ἔτε τοῖς μετ' αὐ-  
τὸς ἐπέτρεπον, καὶ ὡς

yet he had done very ill  
to cut off from the U-  
nity of the Church  
those that observed it  
otherwise; that it had  
never been known, that  
any Churches were ex-  
communicated for a dis-  
agreement in Rites, an  
instance of which there  
was not only in the time  
of Easter its self, but  
in the Fast that preceded  
it : Some fasted one  
day, others more; some  
forty hours, which va-  
riety of Observations be-  
gan not first in our Age;  
but long before us in the  
times of our Ancestors,  
who yet preserved  
Peace and Unity amongst  
themselves, as we now  
do; for the Diversity of  
Fasts commended the U-  
nity of Faith: And as  
for this Controversie  
concerning the time of  
Easter, the Bishops  
which governed the  
Church



Church of Rome before Soter, viz. Anicetus, Pius, Higynus, Telesphorus, and Xystus, they never celebrated it the same time with the Asiatics, neither would they permit any of their People so to do; but yet they were kind and peaceable to those who came to them from those Parishes, where they did otherwise observe it, and never any for this Cause were thrown out of the Church; even your Predecessors, though they did not keep it, yet they sent the Eucharist to those that did keep it; and when in the times of Anicetus, blessed Polycarp came to Rome, and there were some Controversies between them, they did not separate from one another, but still maintained

○ ?

δὲν ἔλαβον αὐτοὺς  
μὴ τηρεῖν, εἰρήνι-  
ον τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς παρι-  
κιῶν ἐν αἷς ἑτερεῖς  
ἐρχομένοις πρὸς αὐ-  
τοὺς — καὶ ἐδέχθη  
διὰ τὸ εἶδεν τὸ αὐ-  
πεβληθῆσαν πνῆς,  
ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ μὴ τηρεῖν  
οἱ πρὸς σὺ πρεσ-  
βύτεροι, τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς  
παρικιῶν τηροῦν  
ἐπεμπον εὐχαριστίαν, καὶ  
τὸ μακαρεῖς Πολυκάρ-  
πος ἐπιστηνύσαντο τῇ  
ῥώμῃ ὅτι Ἀνικήτης, καὶ  
οἱ ἄλλων πνῶν μι-  
κροὶ ὄντες πρὸς ἀλ-  
λήλους, εὐδὺς εἰρήνι-  
σαν, οἱ τέτετε καφα-  
λαίς μὴ φιλαρισήσαν-  
τες πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς ἕτε-  
ρον Ἀνίκητο τὸν  
Πολυκαρπον πείσαι  
ἐδωῖατο μὴ τηρεῖν —  
ἕτε μὲν ὁ Πολυκαρ-  
πος τὸν Ἀνίκητον  
ἐπεισε τηρεῖν — καὶ  
τέτων ἕτως ἐχόντων,  
ἐκοινώνησαν ἑαυτοῖς,  
καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ  
ᾧ ἀχώρησεν ὁ Ἀ-  
νίκητος τὴν εὐχαριστί-  
αν τῷ Πολυκάρπῳ καὶ  
ἐν ἑσπέρῃ δηλονότι, καὶ  
μετ' εἰρήνης ἀπ' ἀλ-  
λήλων ἀπὸ ἀλλήλων  
σαν, πάσης τῆς ἐκκλη-  
Peace



διὰς εἰρήνης ἔχοντων  
καὶ τῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας, καὶ  
τῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας. A-  
pud Euseb. lib. 5. cap.  
24 p. 192, 193.

Peace and Love : And though Anicetus could never persuade Polycarp, nor Polycarp Anicetus to be of each

others mind, yet they communicated one with another; and Anicetus in Honour to Polycarpus, permitted him to Consecrate the Sacrament in his Church, and so they departed in mutual love and kindness; and all the Churches, whether observing, or not observing the same Day, retained Peace and Unity amongst themselves.

§ 4. But though one Church could not oblige another to a Conformity in Rites and Customs, yet a particular Church or Parish could enforce its own Members to such a Conformity, an instance whereof we meet with in that famous Controversie about the Time of Easter. It was the Custom of the Asiatics to celebrate that Feast at the Full Moon, or at the same time with the Jewish Passover, on whatsoever day of the Week it happened. It was the manner at Rome to observe it the Lords Day after, and both these Churches quietly followed their several Usages, without imposing them on each other. But yet the Churches of Asia

Asia permitted none of their Members to solemnize it after the Roman manner; neither did the Churches of Rome, or of the West, license any of their Inhabitants to celebrate it after the Asiatick manner; for if either of them had granted any such thing, there must have ensued Confusion and Disorder, to have seen *Easter* differently observed in one and the same Church; whilst some Members of a Parish were Fasting, to behold others Feasting, would have been a perfect Ataxy and Irregularity: Therefore though *Anicetus* Bishop of Rome retained Peace and Unity with Foreign Churches, that differed from him as to the time of *Easter*, without obliging them to a Compliance with the Roman Custom; yet he peremptorily required it of the Members of his own Church, and would never permit them to Solemnize that Feast on the same time with the Asiaticks.

Ὁὐτὸς τοῖς μέλ' αὐ-  
τῶν ἐπέτρεπον. Iren. a-  
pud Euleb. lib. 5. cap. 24.  
p. 193.

So that though every Church had the Liberty to use what Rites she pleased, yet every particular Member had not, but was obliged to observe the Manners and Customs of that Church where he lived

lived, or where he occasionally communicated. A Church Collectively, or the Majority of a Church with their Bishop could change their old Customs, and introduce new ones, as was done in the Affair of *Easter*, the Asiatics at length submitting to the Roman Usage; but till that was done, every particular Member was required to follow the old Customs of that Church, to which he belonged, and not to bring in any Innovations or new Rites, because, as was said before, that would beget Tumults and Disorders, and the Persons so acting would be guilty of that Strife and Contention, which is condemned by those Words of the Holy Apostle 1 Cor. 11. 16. *But if any Man seem to be contentious, we have no such custom; neither the Churches of God.* Which is, as if the Apostle had said, If any Men, either to shew their Wit, or to head and strengthen a Party, will contradict what we have said, and affirmed it to be decent and comely, either for Men to pray covered, or Women uncovered. This should silence such Contentious Opposers, that there is no such Rite or Custom in any of the Churches of God, but their Practice is the very same with what we have directed unto, and therefore to that they ought peaceably



peaceably and quietly to submit and yield.

Thus now I have finished this Enquiry, and have as far as I could, search'd into what was first propos'd. If I have not illustrated any Point, as clearly as might be expected, the reason is, because I found nothing farther pertinent thereunto in those Writings to which I am confined; if I had, I should freely have mentioned it. Whether I have been mistaken in the Sense and Meaning of any Passage, I must leave unto my Readers to judge; all that I can say is, that I am not conscious to my self of any wilful and designed Mistakes, having throughout this whole Discourse endeavour'd to find out the plain and naked Truth, without being byas'd to any Party or Faction whatsoever; and that if any one shall be so kind and favourable as to convince me of any Slips or Errors, which I may have committed through Inconsideration, or want of a due Understanding, I shall thankfully acknowledge them, and willingly renounce and leave them.

§ 5. What hath been then related concerning the Constitution, Discipline,  
O 4 Unity

Unity and Worship of the Primitive Church shall suffice, I have nothing more to add, but mine earnest Intreaty and Persuasion unto all those, into whose Hands this little Treatise shall fall, to imitate and follow the Primitive Christians in their Moderation, and the Peaceableness of their Temper and Disposition. In those happy days the Christians were so eminent above all other Sects for their mutual Love and Charity, that the Heathens observed it with astonishment, and

<sup>1</sup> Vide, inquiunt, ut invicem se diligunt. *Tertul. Apolog. cap. 39. p. 709.*

<sup>2</sup> Pro alterutro mori sunt parati — Fratres nos vocamus — quia unum patrem Deum agnoverunt, qui unum Spiritum biberunt sanctitatis, qui de uno utero ignorantiae ejusdem ad unam lucem expiraverunt veritatis. *Ibidem, p. 709.*

cried out with Admiration, <sup>1</sup> Behold, how they love one another ! <sup>2</sup> We are, saith Tertullian, ready to die for each other ; and we call one another Brethren, because we acknowledge one and the same God the Father, and have been sanctified by the same holy Spirit, and have been brought

from the same state of Ignorance, to the light of the same marvellous Truth. But alas !

How

<sup>1</sup> *How is the Gold*

*become dim ! How is*

*the most fine Gold*

*changed !* How is that Love and Charity now turned into Malice and Cruelty ! Pity, Compassion, and Tender-heartedness have left the World, and Envy, Hatred and Rancour are succeeded in their Places ; Love is now exploded as ungentle and mean, Charity is condemned as abject and base, whilst Hatred, Revenge and Fury are esteemed as Noble and Generous.

<sup>1</sup> Lam. 4. v. 1.

*But, O Lord, how long ?* Shall Malice and Envy, Wrath and Pride for ever ride Triumphant and uncontrolled ? When wilt thou, O Prince of Peace, and God of Love, heal our Breaches, and compose our Differences, and cause us

<sup>2</sup> *with all lowliness*

*and meekness, and*

*long-suffering to for-*

*bear one another in Love, endeavouring to keep the Unity of the Spirit in the bond of Peace ?*

<sup>2</sup> Ephes. 4. 2, 3.

We have too too long unnaturally quarrelled already, and to the Dishonour of God, and the Scandal of Religion, have most



most unchristianly abused each other: I speak not this only of one Party, but of all; we have all been guilty as to this matter, we have all erred and gone astray from the most Holy Commandment, and have been deficient every one of us in this great and necessary Duty of Love and Unity: We have loathed Concord, and loved Jarrs and Divisions, and have been always back-biting, persecuting and maligning one another to this very day, never at all remembring that we were Brethren, and Professors of the same blessed and glorious Religion.

But what shall I say? This Theme is too harsh and displeasing; if it is an unpleasant Work to rip up those uncharitable Actions, may they be buried in perpetual silence and oblivion, and never more be remembred, so as to stir up Anger and Revenge, but only so as they may produce in us all Humility, Repentance, and mutual Forgiveness; let us now with our Floods of Penitential Tears at once quench God's Anger for our past Divisions, and the Flames of our present Fire and Heats, that so there may be no Fuel for future Contentions; and being grieved that we have played the Fool  
so

so long, we may now the more firmly resolve by the Grace of God to do so no more, that so however infamous we have been heretofore for our blind Zeal and unaccountable Animosities, we may for the time to come be highly renowned and conspicuous for our ardent Love and fervent Chari-

ty, <sup>1</sup> Putting away <sup>1</sup> Ephes. 4. 32, 33.  
all bitterness and

Wrath, and Anger, and Clamour, and evil speaking, with all Malice, being kind to one another, tender-hearted, forgiving one another, even as God for Christs sake hath forgiven us, <sup>2</sup> Putting on

(as the Elect of God, <sup>2</sup> Colos. 3. 12, 13.  
holy and beloved)

Bowels of mercy, kindness, humbleness of mind, meekness, long-suffering, forbearing one another, and forgiving one another.

Certain I am, we need no Arguments to induce us hereunto; both the necessity and Facility of Love and Unity require it at our hands; its necessity is evident from hence, that whilst we spend our Zeal and Heat about these inconsiderable matters, the very Foundations of Faith and Morals are attack'd and shaken, Atheism increases, Immorality prevails,  
and

and those damnable Heresies, which for many Ages have been silenced and abandoned, are now revived by Men of a corrupt Faith, who take an occasion from the Lawlessness and Licentiousness of this present Age, to vent those cursed Tenents, which eradicate and destroy all Religion; it is to be feared, that unless we hasten to compose our Differences about the Skirts and Fringes of Religion, the very Vitals and Essentials thereof will be corroded and devoured by Heresie and Profaneness.

And as for these and the like Reasons the necessity of an Union or Comprehension is manifest on the one Hand, so the Facility of such an Union is as apparent on the other hand; for, thanks be to God, our differences are neither about Faith nor Manners; we all believe in one and the same God, hope to be saved by one and the same Redeemer, desire to be sanctified by one and the same Sanctifier, receive one and the same Scriptures, assent to the same Doctrins, and acknowledge the necessity of the same Duties: Our Disputes are only about lesser matters, about Modes and Forms, about Gestures and Postures; and such like inferior



riour matters, about which it should grieve a wise Man to quarrel, and which, with the greatest ease in the World might be composed and settled, if managed by Men of Prudence and Moderation; and such Men, tis hoped, are the Reverend Bishops advanced by their Majesties, whose Promotion to those Places of Dignity and Trust many honest and peaceable Men look upon as a good Omen and Prognostick of our Future Union and happy Establishment.

With these two Considerations let us remember those solemn Vows and Engagements which we made to Almighty God, and to one another in the day of our late Distress; how we then vow'd and promised, that if God would be pleased to deliver and rescue us, we would forget our Differences, and mutually condescend and abate of our Rigour and Severity: Wherefore now since God hath so wonderfully saved us, let us not be so perfidious and faithless, as to neglect to perform what we then obliged our selves unto; but let us willingly and conscientiously discharge it, lest God bring severer Judgments on us than ever,  
and

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and at once utterly destroy us both Root and Branch, for our Lying, Perjury and Hypocrisie.

Many other such cogent Arguments I might easily produce ; but that I may avoid too great Prolixity and Tediouſness, I shall urge but one more, which is, that unless we have an uniting Spirit, and a peaceable Disposition, we are no true Christians, we unjustly arrogate that glorious Name ; for the very Soul of Christianity is Love and Charity ,

<sup>1</sup> Rom. 14. 17, 18. *The Kingdom of God, faith the Apostle, is not Meat and Drink,*

not zealous Disputes and Strifes about lesser Points, *but righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost ; for he that in these things serveth Christ , is acceptable to God, and approved of Men.* It is an Absurdity and a meer Contradiction for a Man to say that he is Religious, and yet to be malicious and uncharitable.

<sup>2</sup> John. 13. 35. *Our Saviour flatly tells us, that <sup>2</sup> by this all Men shall know that we are his Disciples, if we have Love one to another. We may talk what we please*

please of Religion, and profess what we list; the Word of God is plain, that whosoever hath not Love and Charity, is no Christian; but to allude to that of Christ, *John 10. 1. He is a Thief and a Robber*, he hath not the Spirit of God abiding and dwelling in him; for <sup>1</sup> *The Fruit of the Spirit is Love, Joy, Peace, Long-suffering, Gentleness, Goodness, Faith, Meekness, Temperance.* And <sup>2</sup> *The Wisdom from above is peaceable, gentle, and easie to be entreated, full of mercy and good Fruit.* So that the very Soul and Spirit of Christianity consists in Unity, Love, and Amity.

<sup>1</sup> Gal. 5. 22, 23.

<sup>2</sup> James 3. 17.

Wherefore let my Intreaties be prevalent with you to endeavour for a mutual Compliance and Comprehension, as you have any Regard to the Honour of God, and the Credit of Religion; as you would hinder the Growth of Damnable Errors, and abominable Debaucheries, and do what in you lies to prevent the Ruin and Damnation of Multitudes of poor Souls; nay, as you would secure your own



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own Salvation, and be able with Confidence to appear at the dreadful and impartial day of Judgment, let me conjure you in the Name of

<sup>1</sup> 1 Pet. 1. 22.

God <sup>1</sup> to love one another with a pure Heart fervently, <sup>2</sup> to follow after Righteous-

<sup>2</sup> 1 Tim. 6. 11.

ness, Godliness, Faith, Love, Patience, Meekness; to forget and pardon all former

<sup>3</sup> 1 Phil. 3. 14.

Injuries and Affronts, <sup>3</sup> doing nothing for the time

to come, through Strife or Vain-Glory, but in lowliness of Mind, each esteeming others better than themselves, doing all things without Murmurings.

<sup>4</sup> 2 Tim. 2. 23, 24.

or Disputings, <sup>4</sup> avoiding all foolish and un-

learned Questions, knowing that they do but gender Strifes, behaving your selves like the Servants of the Lord, who must not strive, but be gentle unto all Men, apt to teach, patient, mutually complying with each other, doing all things unto Edification, labouring after Peace and Unity, that so we may at length

<sup>5</sup> Rom. 15. 5.

<sup>5</sup> with one mind and one mouth glorify God,

God, even the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.

And for the Accomplishment of this blessed and glorious Design, let us above all things avoid Pride and Vain-glory, which, as it is to be feared, hath had no small share both in the causing and increasing of our Divisions: We have been so stiff and self-conceited, and stood so much upon the pitiful Punctilio's of Honour, that we have refused to condescend to one another, or to join in a way of Comprehension, or mutual Relaxation, which seems to be the only way left for Union and Agreement, if ever we hope, or intend to have it. Wherefore let me address my self unto you in the Words of the Reverend and Moderate Bi-

shop Hall, <sup>1</sup> Men, <sup>1</sup> Passion Sermon.

Brethren, and Fathers help, for Gods sake put to your Hands to the Quenching of this common Flame, the one side by Humility and Obedience, the other by Compassion, both by Prayers and Tears. And as he,

so let me <sup>2</sup> beg for <sup>2</sup> Ibid.

Peace as for Life, by your Filial Piety to the Church of God,

P

wh

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whose Ruins follow upon our Divisions, by your Love of God's Truth, by the Graces of that one blessed Spirit, whereby we are all informed and quickened, by the precious Blood of that Son of God, which was shed for our Redemption, be inclined to Peace and Love, and though our Brains be different, yet let our Hearts be one. Let us all endeavour by a Compliance and a Comprehension to promote Love and Charity, Peace and Unity, that so being Children of Peace, and obedient Subjects of the Prince of Peace, the God of Peace may bless us with Peace, Quiet and Serenity here, and at the end of our Days receive us into his Eternal Peace, and everlasting Rest; which God of his infinite Mercy grant may be the Portion of us all, through the Merits of his only Son our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. *Amen,* and *Amen.*

P O S T.



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## POSTSCRIPT.

**B**Ecause some Practices and Customs mentioned in the precedent Treatise, were not from the first Plantation of Christianity, but were afterwards introduced; and others might not be universal, but only followed in some particular Churches, it will not be unnecessary to add a Table of the Names, Age, and Country of those Fathers, and of their Contemporaries, who have been cited by us, that so we may guess at the time when such Customs were brought in, and know the Places where they were chiefly practised.

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Names.	Countries.	Age.
Several Synods held in	Africa between	Anno Christi 250 & 260.
Alexander Bishop of	Jerusalem,	Anno 228
Anonymus apud Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 16. p. 182.	Lesser Asia,	170
Anicetus Bishop of	Rome,	154
The Synodical Letter of ———	the Council of Antioch, held	Anno 265
Apollinaris Bishop of	Hierapolis in Lesser Asia,	170
Apollonius ———		200
Asturius ———	Palastina,	260
Aurelius ———	Carthage,	253
Artemon ———		196
Babylas Bishop of	Antioch,	246
Saint Barnabas		50
Basilides the Heretick	Alexandria,	134
Basilides a Bishop in	Spain,	258
Celastrius ———	Carthage,	253
Letitius of the Clergy	Clergy of Car-	
of Rome, to the	thage, writ be-	Anno 250.
	tween	& 258
Clemens Bishop of	Rome,	70
Clemens of	Alexandria,	204
Cornelius Bishop of	Rome,	252
Crescens Bishop of	Cirta in Africa,	258
Cyprian Bishop of	Carthage,	250
Dionysius Bishop of	Corinth,	172
Dionysius Bishop of	Alexandria,	260
Eusebius a Deacon of	Alexandria,	259

Names.	Countries.	Age.
<i>Fabianus</i> Bishop of	Rome,	Anno 236
<i>Firmilian</i> Bishop of	Casarea in Capadocia,	250
<i>Fortunatus</i> a Schismatic	in Africa,	255
<i>Fortunatus</i> Bishop of	Thucabori in Africa,	258
<i>Gregory</i> Bishop of	Neocasarea,	250
<i>Ignatius</i> Bishop of	Antioch,	105
<i>Irenæus</i> Bishop of	Lyons,	184
<i>Justin Martyr</i>	Samarina,	155
<i>Lucius</i> Bishop of	Thebeste in Africa,	258
A Letter of the Churches of Lyons and Vienne	to the Churches of Asia,	177
<i>Minucius Felix</i>	Rome,	230
<i>Martialis</i> a Bishop in	Spain,	258
<i>Natalis</i>	Rome,	210
<i>Nemesianus</i> Bishop of	Thubunis in Africa,	258
<i>Novatian</i>	Rome,	252
<i>Origen</i> a Presbyter of	Alexandria,	230
<i>Palmas</i> Bishop of	Amastria in Pontus,	196
<i>Paulus</i> Samosatensis Bishop of	Antioch,	265
<i>Plinius</i> an Heathen.		110
<i>Polycarpus</i> Bishop of	Smirna,	140
<i>Polycrates</i> Bishop of	Ephesus,	196
<i>Pontius</i> a Deacon of	Carthage,	260
<i>Privatus</i> Bishop of	Lambese in Africa,	254



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<i>Names.</i>	<i>Countries.</i>	<i>Age.</i>
<i>Sabinus</i> Bishop of	<i>Emerita</i> in Spain,	Anno 258
<i>Sedatus</i> Bishop of	<i>Turbo</i> in Africa,	258
<i>Secundinus</i> Bishop of	<i>Carpis</i> in Africa,	258
An Epistle of the Church of <i>Smirna</i>		
to the Church of	<i>Philomilium</i> ,	168
<i>Stephen</i> Bishop of	<i>Rome</i> ,	258
<i>Tatianus</i>	<i>Syria</i> ,	180
<i>Tertullian</i> a Presbyter	of <i>Carthage</i> ,	200
<i>Theoctistus</i> Bishop of	<i>Casarea</i> in <i>Pala-</i> <i>stina</i> ,	228
<i>Theophilus</i> Bishop of	<i>Casarea</i> in <i>Pala-</i> <i>stina</i> ,	196
<i>Victor</i> Bishop of	<i>Rome</i> ,	196
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<i>Vincentius</i> Bishop of	<i>Thibaris</i> in <i>Africa</i> ,	258
<i>Zoticus</i> Bishop of	<i>Comane</i> in <i>Lesser</i> <i>Asia</i> ,	168

### E R R A T A.

**P**Age 12 line 5. read *precedent*. p. 12. l. 15. r. either.  
p. 45. l. 18. r. *but*. p. 55. l. 2. blot out and p. 58.  
l. 1. r. *them*. p. 80. l. 26. r. *ἐκὼν*. p. 107. l. 16. r. *Sacerdo-*  
*tal*. p. 110. l. 8. blot out *the*. p. 134. l. 27. r. and p.  
169. l. 17. r. *ran*. p. 200. l. 10. r. *we*. p. 216. l. 16. blot  
out *if*.

### ERRATA in the Margin.

Page 40. l. 1. lege *Desideriorum*. p. 46. l. 4. l. *Βασι-*  
*λεως*. p. 47. l. 3. l. *jus*. p. 142. l. 2. l. *διῶ*. p.  
160. l. 6. l. *ζών*. p. 202. l. 30. l. *adversus*. p. 209. l. 4.  
*εἰς*. & alia leviora sunt, quæ lector facile  
emendabit.

*Book:*

Books lately Printed for Jonathan Robinson at the Golden Lion in St. Paul's Church-yard.

**A** Defence of the Catholick Faith, concerning the Satisfaction of Christ. VVritten originally by the Learned *Hugo Grotius*, and now translated into English. A VVork very necessary in these Times for the preventing of the Growth of *Socinianism*.

Practical Discourses on Sicknes and Recovery, in several Sermons. By *Timothy Rogers*, M. A. after his Recovery from a Sicknes of near two years continuance.

Christ alone our Life, or the Great Case of every Mans Life and Death, determined by the Sentence of God, in 1 *John* 5. 12. By *Edward Pierce*, A.M. Rector of *Cottesbrook* in *Northamptonshire*.

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Books Printed for John Wyat at the Rose in St. Paul's Church-yard.

**T**HE Christian Virtuoso; shewing, That by being addicted to experimental Philosophy, a Man is rather assisted than indisposed to be a good Christian. To which are subjoined, 1. A Discourse about

bout the Distinction, that represents some things as above Reason, but not contrary to Reason. 2. The first Chapters of a Discourse entituled, Greatness of Mind promoted by Christianity. By the Honourable Robert Boyle Esq; Fellow of the Royal Society.

*Experimenta & Observationes Physicae*, wherein are briefly treated of several Subjects relating to Natural Philosophy in an Experimental way. To which is added, A small Collection of strange Reports. By the same Author.

The English Grammar, setting forth the Grounds of the English Tongue, and particularly its Genius in making Compounds and Derivatives, with many other useful and curious Observations. Wherein are also explained the usual Abbreviations, the several Hands used in Writing and Characters in Printing, the variety of Styles, the Art of true Pointing, and the way to understand Books, &c. A necessary Work in general for all Persons desirous to understand the Grounds and Genius of the English, and very proper to prepare young Men for the Latin Tongue. By Guy Meige Gent. The Second Edition.

**F I N I S.**



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Mary Scaton

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